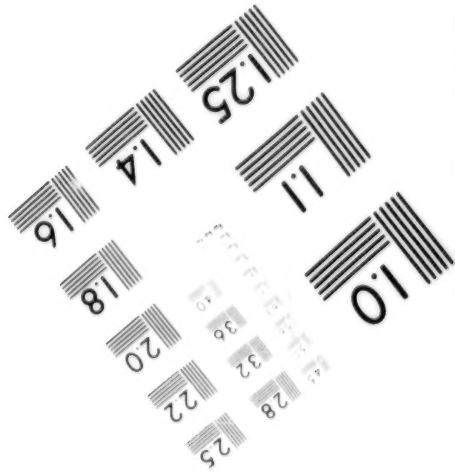
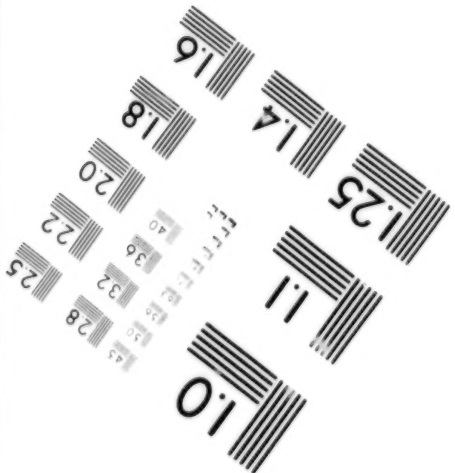
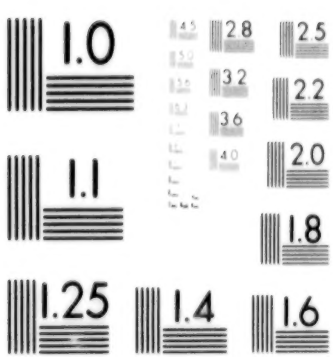


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# ***Daily Report***

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## **Sub-Saharan Africa**

FBIS-AFR-93-192  
Wednesday  
6 October 1993

# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-93-192

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6 October 1993

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## Zaire

### Government Delegation Takes Seat at UN General Assembly

AB0510205693 Kinshasa Voix du Zaire in French 1800 GMT 5 Oct 93

[Text] According to a press release, Communication and Press Minister N'Gongo Luwowo, after consultations with (Mukolumania wa Ngate Nzeda), deputy minister of external relations, informs the public that the delegation of the Republic of Zaire to the 48th session of the UN General Assembly led by External Relations Minister Professor Mpinga Kassenda has received its accreditation and has been regularly occupying its seat since yesterday. This has finally put an end to the false rumor that there were allegedly two representatives of the Republic of Zaire to the session.

The release adds that the chairman of the 48th session of the UN General Assembly being absent, the UN Protocol Department's general secretariat kindly invited the Zairian external relations minister, who had just taken possession of Zaire's seat, to chair the General Assembly. Still, according to the same source, Prof. Mpinga Kassenda chaired yesterday's plenary session from 1800 until late in the night in a hall where all the delegations were fully present.

Outside the session, the head of the Zairian delegation, who arrived in New York 2 October at 1500, received in his hotel the courtesy calls of OAU Secretary General Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim and of Lakhdar Brahimi, UN Secretary General's emissary, with whom he discussed the items on the agenda for the 48th session and problems affecting Africa and Zaire, the source continued. Today, Minister Kassenda will attend a luncheon the UN secretary general will host in honor of the heads of delegations.

Meanwhile, a UN official, answering Prof. Nzongola, who was complaining that the United States granted visas to the delegation of Prof. Mpinga, said that in view of the seriousness of the problems to be discussed at this UN session, Zairians are advised not to make an exhibition of themselves with their domestic problems. They are far from being the concern of the international community, which has real hotbeds and is confronted with armed conflicts in many countries of the globe.

Finally, concerning the addresses to the 48th session, the Republic of Zaire's message will be delivered on 11 October by External Minister Mpinga Kassenda.

### Presidential Group, Opposition Divided Over Premier

AB0510182893 Paris AFP in French 1211 GMT 5 Oct 93

[Text] Kinshasa, 5 Oct (AFP)—The presidential camp and the Zairian radical opposition meeting since 10 September to end the country's crisis, were still divided today over their final report and the "draft agreement" which will sanction their deliberations.

Gerard Kamanda, spokesman for the Radical Opposition Sacred Union [USOR] told AFP that a drafting committee was still preparing this draft agreement and the text of the final document. He admitted that the problem relating to the appointment of a future prime minister was not solved yet and that this issue should be examined "by a restricted committee."

The USOR hardliners demand that Etienne Tshisekedi, elected prime minister in August 1992 by the Sovereign National Conference, be explicitly appointed "head" of government for the transition period.

According to the report of the commission charged with examining the constitutional text adopted by the delegates participating in the negotiations, the transitional institutions are the president of the Republic, the transitional parliament, that is the High Council of the Republic, the government, and the tribunals.

As for the presidential camp—the Conclave of Political Forces—it is of the view that Tshisekedi can no longer avail himself of the title of head of government, since the national conference's act from which he derived his legitimacy has been changed.

The two delegations agreed on the principle of a single transition act, known as the Transitional Constitutional Act, which would merge the act drawn up by the national conference and the "harmonized" act drawn up by the political conclave which was called for by Marshal Mobutu.

Thus, the two governments, which were quarreling over their legitimacy—the Faustin Birindwa government and that of Tshisekedi—have found themselves in the same situation, analysts pointed out, since neither can claim to be in a better position to rule the transition.

Birindwa was appointed head of government by President Mobutu Sese Seko after dismissing Tshisekedi following the January 1993 mutinies in the Army. But the same circles pointed out that the personality of Tshisekedi, a staunch opponent to Marshal Mobutu that no one dares to challenge, might heavily influence the working out of the draft agreement between the two delegations.

## Eritrea

### Delegation Attends IMF, World Bank Summit

*EA0510192093 Asmara Voice of the Broad Masses of Eritrea in Amharic 1500 GMT 5 Oct 93*

[Text] An Eritrean delegation, led by Finance and Development Minister Haile Wolde Tensae, attended the IMF and World Bank joint summit held in Washington, D.C. During the 26 September-1 October meeting, the delegation held talks with the heads of the two institutions on the situation in Eritrea.

They discussed Eritrea's membership in the institutions and the progress of the ongoing reconstruction and rehabilitation program in the country. They also discussed the return and rehabilitation of refugees and combatants.

Following these talks, a delegation of 30 people from the IMF and donor countries and institutions will come to Asmara on 19 October to assess and discuss the conditions needed for the development program. The delegation led by Minister Tensae left Washington for Tokyo on 2 October to attend the International African Development Congress.

## Ethiopia

### Government Approves Changes in Justice Ministry

*EA0310104093 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia in English to Neighboring Countries 1530 GMT 2 Oct 93*

[Text] The Council of Representatives of the transitional Government of Ethiopia has approved draft amendments to a proclamation empowering the Ministry of Justice to assume additionally the status of prosecutor. A news release issued by the Press and Protocol Department of the Council said a draft proclamation on the reorganization of the Office of the Prosecutor was also endorsed by the Council's session.

The new proclamation entrusts the Ministry of Justice with the responsibility of ensuring the observance of the law while reorganizing the Office of the Prosecutor to operate as a division under the Ministry of Justice. The news release also said the proclamation will bring the task of enforcing the law, which used to be carried out by the Ministry of Justice and the Prosecutor's Office, under a unified structure.

## Kenya

### Minister Warns Opposition Against Reviving Association

*EA0310205093 Nairobi KBC Television Network in English 1830 GMT 3 Oct 93*

[Excerpt] A minister of state in the office of the president, Mr. Kipkalia Kones, has hit out at opposition

leaders advocating for the revival of GEMA [Gikuyu, Embu and Meru Association] and warned that if the ban on the association is lifted it will cause chaos in the country. Mr. Kones said that the advocates of GEMA wanted to create chaos in the country with the ultimate aim of illegally dislodging President Moi, but said the majority of Kenyans are ready to protect the president at all costs. He was speaking yesterday [2 October] during a harambee [fund-raiser] in aid of Kaporuso Secondary School in Bomet District, where over 1.3 million shillings was raised. [passage omitted]

### Article Profiles Leading Vice Presidential Contenders

*AB0410182593 Nairobi THE ECONOMIC REVIEW in English 16-22 Aug 93 p 9*

[Unattributed article: "Waiting in the Wings"]

[Text] As it becomes increasingly clear that the continued stay of Professor George Saitoti is becoming untenable, a number of leading KANU [Kenya Africa National Union] figures are quietly jostling to catch President Daniel arap Moi's eye. Theoretically, Moi has 99 elected KANU MPs to choose from when his own seat as MP for Baringo Central and that of Saitoti, MP for Kajiado North, are taken out of contention. Two parliamentary seats, Makuyu and Hamisi, remain vacant following recent defections from FORD-Asili [Forum for the Restoration of Democracy-Asili]. The other 85 seats (there is a full complement of 188 elected MPs) are shared between FORD-Kenya with 31, FORD-Asili with 29, the Democratic Party with 22, and one seat apiece for the Kenya Social Congress, the Kenya National Congress, and the party of Independent Candidates of Kenya. But it remains obvious that only a handful of the 99 eligible KANU MPs have a chance of ascending to the coveted number two position. Following are brief pen portraits of the five leading contenders, alphabetically arranged. Each name is followed by the parliamentary constituency, followed by the administrative district and province, and the ministerial portfolio.

**Musaliala Mudavadi:** Sabaita, Vihiga, Western. Minister for finance. Elected to parliament to succeed his late father in 1989 and speedily saw a meteoric rise to become one of KANU's senior figures from Western Province. Still in his early thirties, but the great Luhya hope suffered something of a setback recently when he was suspected to be in league with a crop of formerly powerful Luhya individuals within KANU considered to have been working actively to undermine Saitoti, the powerful Nicholas Biwott, the Kerio South MP and Moi's most trusted confidant, and other members of Moi's Rift Valley Province inner circle. The soft spoken minister has been waging a quiet turf war with Saitoti over operations at Treasury Building. Being Moi's nephew, or at least step-nephew, however, should provide a definite advantage.

**Kirugi M'Mukindia:** Imenti Central, Meru, Eastern. Minister for commerce and industry. Latest name on the list of vice presidential contenders. His visibly reshaping himself into a KANU hawk in recent days cannot be incidental. The most powerful establishment figure among the Meru today, a community Moi has been actively wooing. First elected at his first attempt in 1988 and steadily growing in stature. First appointment was as assistant minister for energy, the ministry then headed by Biwott. Before his political debut, the highly qualified chemical engineer served as a senior manager with Kobil Oil (Kenya) Limited, a firm closely associated with Biwott. First appointed to the full cabinet as minister for research, science, and technology in January 1992 to fill vacancies created by defectors to opposition ranks with the advent of multipartyism. Biwott link a very definite plus.

**Kalonzo Musyoka:** Kitui North, Kitui, Eastern. Minister for foreign affairs and international cooperation. Eight years in parliament during which he has served as deputy speaker of the National Assembly, the boyish foreign minister, 40, still feels constrained, on occasion, to point out that he is not too young to handle his onerous responsibilities. Youngest, but best connected of the four Akamba cabinet ministers, and therefore best placed if Moi feels he owes the community a favour. Has toned down his once strident style in favour of a more diplomatic mien since landing the coveted foreign affairs docket after the last general elections.

**Noah Katana Ngala:** Ganze, Kilifi, Coast. Minister for tourism and wildlife. Son of veteran nationalist, the late Ronald Ngala, and now a political veteran in his own right. The name of the laid-back coastal representative on KANU's national executive committee has featured intermittently over the years whenever the issue of filling the vice presidency has cropped up. Despite his status as the longest-serving minister among the hopefuls, has never shown any outward ambition for higher things. Advantage: no major political foes. Disadvantage: no major political allies.

**Simeon Nyachae:** Nyaribari Chache, Kisii, Nyanza. Minister for agriculture and livestock development and marketing. A freshman in parliament, but one of the most powerful individuals to have bestrode the land when he served as chief secretary (the last person to hold the powerful post) and head of the civil service between 1984 and 1986. Retired from a lifetime in the civil service under a cloud, having fallen out with powerful KANU figures, but widely perceived to have exacted a price for his decision to stick with KANU come the advent of multiparty politics. Working against him might be the fact that he remains an avowed foe of Biwott.

### **Government Establishes 'Special Tourist Police Force'**

*EA3009133093 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 29 Sep 93*

[Text] The government has taken serious measures to address the question of security in the tourism industry

which includes the establishment of a special tourist police force. This was disclosed by the permanent secretary for tourism and wildlife, Mr. Hussein Sharawe, when he addressed travel writers at a luncheon in New York. He said he had noted a sharp drop in the number of visitors from the United States in the past two years and blamed this largely on negative reports about Kenya's security situation. Mr. Sharawe further informed the writers that a special tourist police will be responsible for tourist security. He said the government was also working on a blueprint sessional paper on tourism for this decade and beyond.

## **Somalia**

### **Somaliland Vice President Meets French Delegation**

*EA3009134593 (Clandestine) Radio Hargeysa Voice of the Republic of Somaliland in Somali 1200 GMT 23 Sep 93*

[Text] The French ambassador to Djibouti and his delegation arrived at Hargeysa Airport on 23 September. They were received by Somaliland Vice President Abdirahman aw Ali Farah in his office. The ambassador and his delegation held an extensive meeting with the vice president and the minister of state for foreign affairs of Somaliland. Both sides analyzed many issues in depth, including the strengthening of Somaliland's security and the social integration of the country's armed forces.

Briefing reporters at the presidency, Abdirahman aw Ali Farah said the aim of the French delegation's visit was to establish facts about the general situation in Somaliland. The French delegation promised to help the government of Somaliland in its efforts to integrate its armed forces.

This is the second visit by the French ambassador and his delegation to Somaliland within a period of three months.

### **Somaliland Customs Chief Outlines Import Duties**

*EA3009134093 (Clandestine) Radio Hargeysa Voice of the Republic of Somaliland in Somali 1200 GMT 25 Sep 93*

[Text] Hassan Ahmed Embasi, the head of customs for Somaliland, has disclosed that much progress has been made in collecting taxes in Berbera. Embasi, who briefed Radio Hargeysa today, said that during the 71 days in which the government has controlled customs, much progress has been achieved in all areas, including training customs personnel and encouraging taxpayers to pay duty on their goods.

Talking about the various goods imported into the country and the duty charged, the head of customs said that most of it comes from food. He said that the import duties charged were as follows: 3,500 [shillings] for a bag

of rice; 4,200 for a bag of sugar; 3,500 for a bag of wheat flour; 1,200 shillings for a carton of spaghetti; 3,500 for a basket of dates.

Regarding construction equipment, which follows second, he said the following import duties were charged: corrugated iron sheets, which fall into two categories—one costs 1,300, while the other is 1,000; 1,200 for a roll of wire; 1,000 for a bag of cement.

The head of customs added that our biggest export is livestock, mostly destined for Saudi Arabia and Yemen.

Finally, Embasi called on taxpayers to contribute towards making the customs work successfully. He thanked businessmen, especially wealthy merchants.

### Tanzania

#### Police Arrest Suspected UNITA Members in Danish Embassy

AB0410152093 Dakar PANA in English 1205 GMT  
4 Oct 93

[Text] Dar es Salaam, 4 Oct (SHIHATA/PANA)—Tanzanian police has arrested four Angolans believed to be members of the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] group led by Jonas Savimbi. In a five-minute operation Sunday [3 October] police entered the embassy and arrested the Angolans, the permanent secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ibrahim Msabaha, said. The Angolans are being held in Dar es Salaam for questioning.

The four had forcibly occupied the Danish Embassy in Dar es Salaam since Tuesday [28 September], the Foreign Ministry said. Efforts by Tanzanian authorities to have the men vacate the building failed. The government has reassured foreign diplomats of their safety, despite the incident. This is the first time that non-Tanzanians have occupied a foreign mission in this East African nation.

### Uganda

#### Paper Reports Attacks on Refugee Camps by Sudan's SPLA

EA0410141593 Dakar PANA in English 1034 GMT  
4 Oct 93

[Text] Kampala, 4 Oct (PANA)—The Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA) rebels, now occupying most of the south Sudan border areas around Kaya region, have twice attacked the refugee reception centre at Ayupe, in

Uganda the state-owned daily newspaper THE NEW VISION reported Monday [4 October]. They wanted to loot relief supplies the paper quoted sources within the refugee camps near Koboko town, 19 kilometres to the Uganda/Sudan border, as saying.

The paper does not indicate when the attacks took place. However, it said Ugandan security personnel and residents in the north-western Ugandan town of Koboko confirmed the incidents. As a result, Uganda has tightened border security with Sudan. Although the border is not officially closed, no pedestrians or private motorists are allowed beyond Oraba trading centre, nearly four kilometres to the border bridge over the Kaya River. The same sources told THE NEW VISION that security was tightened to prevent the registered Sudanese refugees now numbering at least 50,000 from crossing back into Sudan prematurely.

Since August, when Sudanese Government troops launched an offensive against the SPLA, all the relief supplies which used to go into the famine stricken areas in south Sudan were diverted to the refugee camps near Koboko town. Therefore, food has been held within the SPLA camps.

When we left and crossed the border into Uganda the SPLA came twice to loot during the first and second week of September while we were still at the reception centre at Ayupe inside Uganda, an unidentified refugee told the newspaper.

Due to lack of food, the SPLA's conduct has allegedly been characterised by looting people's goats, chickens and clothing. They have also been accused of murder and rape, causing a further influx of Sudanese refugees into Uganda. Refugees enter Uganda each day in their hundreds. They come either half-naked or completely naked. They bring along to reception centres emaciated children, the paper says.

The latest arrivals Wednesday [29 September] numbered at least 700. They were composed mostly of children and elderly women. They were immediately clothed by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and then taken to a new camp at Waju, about 15 kilometres north-east of Koboko town.

UNHCR officials at Waju said that the number of refugees being handled now is very much lower than the volume handled at the beginning and the subsequent two weeks of August. Officials said that they go to their reception centres on a weekly basis to pick an average of 600 to 700 refugees.



### **Multiparty Talks Draft Resolution on Identity Documents**

*MB0510181293 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1635  
GMT 5 Oct 93*

[By Guy Rogers]

[Text] Johannesburg Oct 5 SAPA—Delegates at multiparty talks at Kempton Park have called for urgent practical steps to ensure South Africa's estimated four million eligible voters still without identity documents are reached before next year's proposed election. The call came in the form of a draft resolution by Transkei representative Zam Titus, submitted to and then endorsed by the Multiparty Negotiating Council at the World Trade Centre on Tuesday.

It followed lengthy debate on who should be responsible for issuing documents to the millions of first-time South African voters and whether or not the process was going fast enough to beat the proposed April, 1994 election deadline.

African National Congress representative Patrick "Terror" Lekota said four million people still had to be issued identity documents and the pace at which the Department of Home Affairs was going, the deadline would not be met. Mr Lekota suggested the government was being deliberately tardy and called for mobile stations to be introduced to speed up the process.

"This is a very serious issue. We want the playing fields to be levelled and if they are going to be then our people must have this document," he said.

The Democratic Party and Transkei among others called for the independent electoral commission to be allowed to share the load of issuing identity documents.

Deputy Law and Order Minister Danie Schutte said 87 per cent of eligible voters had already been issued with identity documents. The government could, moreover, handle many more applicants than were coming forward at this stage, he said.

Mr Schutte said any offer of help would be considered, but the government had grave doubts about whether the Electoral Commission would be in a position to issue documents which were proof against abuse.

Afrikaner Volksunie [National Unity] representative Andries Pienaar also made this point, saying temporary documentation such as the commission might issue would always be open to abuse. "It is symptomatic of rushing headlong to an election before the groundwork has been laid," he said.

South African Communist Party representative Essop Pahad objected, saying it was "certainly not a headlong rush for those who have waited hundreds of years for this election".

The resolution drafted by Mr Titus also called for the planning committee to investigate and make recommendations to the Negotiating Council on "the steps which need to be taken to ensure that citizens of the TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] states, who may qualify to vote at the next election, are issued with the requisite documents as urgently as possible".

Bophuthatswana said there was "no way" the electoral bill being drawn up would be ratified in the territory unless this was done by the Bophuthatswana parliament. "There is no way South African citizenship can be forced on Bophuthatswana residents," he said.

The draft resolution was thereafter endorsed by all the organisations in the Council except for Bophuthatswana and for the Afrikaner Volksunie which said it respected the sovereignty of the Bophuthatswana government.

### **Cosag Members Not To Participate in April Election**

*MB0510154793 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1453  
GMT 5 Oct 93*

[By Erna van Wyk]

[Text] Pretoria Oct 5 SAPA—Concerned South Africans Group [Cosag] members would not participate under current circumstances in next year's election, the Afrikaner Volksfront's [Afrikaner National Front, AVF] General Tienie Groenewald said on Tuesday.

There was no talk of a rift in Cosag and Wednesday's summit of its leaders would concentrate on working out "alternative methods" to reach goals, Gen Groenewald said in an interview.

Not one of the Cosag member parties had made headway at multi-party democracy talks or in bilateral negotiations, so unspecified alternatives had to be found, he said.

"We are strongly against the elections as planned for April 27 and will oppose it...not through the ballot box."

Condoning the AVF northern Cape region's earlier threat not to allow next year's one-man-one-vote elections to take place, Gen Groenewald said: "Under the current circumstances, nobody (in Cosag), including (Inkatha Freedom Party leader) Mangosuthu Buthelezi, will take part in the elections".

Gen Groenewald expected more members to join Cosag and said a decision had already been taken that joint future action would be more coordinated.

Referring to the AVF's suspension of talks with the African National Congress last week, Gen Groenewald said there had been no "direct contact" between the two organisations since then.

Public acknowledgment of the Afrikaner's right to self-determination would lead to a resumption of talks, he added.

Wednesday's summit follows Sunday's meeting in Durban at which Mr Buthelezi suggested Cosag form a working group to look at steps needed to terminate the World Trade Centre talks process before it reached a final plenary.

Cosag members President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana, Brig Oupa Gqozo of Ciskei, Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg and Gen Constand Viljoen of the AVF attended the Durban meeting.

Chief Buthelezi also proposed looking into alternatives Cosag members might have to multiparty negotiations.

#### **De Klerk: 'Good Progress' Made in Talks With IFP**

*MB0510202293 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1958 GMT 5 Oct 93*

[Text] Pretoria Oct 5 SAPA—Good progress was being made by government negotiators to woo the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] back to multiparty negotiations, President F W de Klerk said on Tuesday. All reports he had received indicated that reasonable and positive progress was being made and the talks were continuing.

On events in Russia, Mr de Klerk said his government supported President Boris Yeltsin's action which had obviously been intended to maintain law and order so that a democratic process could take place. He was looking forward to a first-hand report on the events from two of his cabinet ministers, Hernus Kriel and Dawie de Villiers, who were in Moscow.

Mr de Klerk was speaking after meeting with clerics from the kwa Sizabantu ministers' conference, who called on him to ensure the values of most South Africans were upheld in a constitution.

The group said there should be no special rights for perverted lifestyles and that society should be guarded against pornography. They had noticed with shock and disappointment that constitutional protection was to be given to perverted lifestyles.

They also discussed a document, Christianity and Religious Freedom, which had been signed by 230,000 people.

#### **Government, ANC Disagree on Joining Commonwealth**

*MB0510152093 Johannesburg Channel Africa Radio in English 1100 GMT 5 Oct 93*

[From the "Channel Africa Report" program]

[Text] The South African Government and the African National Congress [ANC] disagree on whether the country should join the British Commonwealth. The ANC is in favor of membership, but the government is not. Director General of South African Foreign Affairs Rusty Evans:

[Begin Evans recording] South Africa has limited financial and personnel resources in general, and in moving

into a new situation, a situation where South Africa will be integrated into Africa and into Africa's most natural organizations, such as the Organization of African Unity, such as SADC [Southern African Development Conference], such as the PTA [Preferential Trade Area], such as the UN specialized agencies—the Food and Agricultural Organization, the World Health Organization—these are the priorities, these are things that we cannot avoid. We will simply have to play a more active role in those types of organizations. Certainly the Commonwealth is important, because all our neighbors are members of the Commonwealth, and I would expect that South Africa would probably be invited at a certain time to join the Commonwealth. [end recording]

On the other hand, the ANC is reviewing the possibility of South Africa rejoining the Commonwealth and will favor a return to the club. International Affairs Administrator Yusuf Saloojee:

[Begin Saloojee recording] The ANC is reviewing the matter currently, in terms of looking at perspectives of (our) foreign policy within that context. Certainly we've had a very good relationship with the Commonwealth over the years. We've attended every [word indistinct] meeting as observers, invited by the Commonwealth. The relationship has been very, very good. Of course, we would also have to look at priorities, but we don't see any harm in joining the Commonwealth. There are benefits. [end recording]

#### **Government, APLA To Meet on Ending Hostilities**

*MB0510185793 Johannesburg Channel Africa Radio in English 1600 GMT 5 Oct 93*

[Text] The Pan-Africanist Congress [PAC] says the chief commander of its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army or APLA, Mr. Sabelo Phama, and the chief of the South African Defense Force, Lieutenant General George Meiring, are to meet in the Zimbabwean capital Harare on the 28th of this month.

The national organizer of the PAC, Mr. Maxwell Nemasadzhivhanani, said points on the agenda included a mutual cessation of hostilities, changed control of all armed formations and the envisaged national peace-keeping force.

Speaking in Cape Town, he said APLA preferred the meeting with General Meiring to take place in Uganda and discussions had begun with the Ugandan Government over this matter. Although a South African Defence Ministry official denied knowledge of a meeting with APLA, a spokesman for the Law and Order Ministry confirmed earlier that such a meeting would take place to reconcile views on violence.



**Funds for Zulu Units 'Revival' of 1978 Special Tax**

*MB0510135593 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1246  
GMT 5 Oct 93*

[Text] Durban Oct 5 SAPA—The kwaZulu government on Tuesday said the request for contributions to "Zulu protection units" was a revival of a special tax proclaimed by the homeland's Legislative Assembly in 1978. "As far as this law is concerned, all kwaZulu citizens are expected to pay, but it's not compulsory," said kwaZulu government spokesman T C Memela.

He explained those refusing to pay the tax would not be charged with an offence. Mr Memela repeated the request to all kwaZulu citizens to contribute any amount from R[and]5 upwards towards "this revenue source".

Inkatha [Freedom Party, IFP] President and kwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi recently asked Zulus to donate money to protection units to counter "attacks against the Zulu nation".

Mr Memela explained this was in fact a request to renew the 1978 "kwaZulu special tax" which fell away after it was not paid regularly. The tax had been used for government resources, but would now be used to finance protection units.

The tax was paid only by men, but women were now also requested to contribute, he added.

Payments could be made at kwaZulu tribal authority offices or to government representatives. Receipts would be issued.

Responding to the request, the ANC's [African National Congress] northern Natal secretary, Senzo Mchunu, said the imposition of a "special tax" could lead to more violence in Natal/kwaZulu. "I am a Zulu and I won't feel comfortable contributing towards a protection unit that is bound to become another force for Inkatha.

"Why should Zulus pay for protection. The SA police is obliged to protect all the citizens of this country."

He added that residents of rural areas would be forced to produce receipts for the tax, saying this was another burden on people already paying "dubious traditional" taxes in these areas.

Natal unrest monitor Mary de Haas added: "I can't see anyone paying unless they're avid Inkatha supporters or unless they're forced to pay."

Meanwhile, KLA [KwaZulu Legislative Assembly] spokesman M R Mzimela said on Monday that kwaZulu hoped to train 400 men for an intensive six-week period.

IFP spokesman Ed Tillet claimed there had been a "phenomenal response" to the call for contributions to the units.

**UN, ANC Said Aware of Recruitment of Troops for Angola**

*MB0610105093 Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans  
3 Oct 93 p 6*

[Report by de Wet Potgieter]

[Text] The cream of South African soldiers is being recruited for service in Angola with the full knowledge of the United Nations and the ANC [African National Congress]. Members of 32 Battalion, who for years have been fighting for South Africa on UNITA's [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] side against the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] government, are also joining so that they can return to their fatherland.

In the first interview since it became known that South Africa's best former soldiers were once again being recruited to help the former enemy in Angola, Eben Barlow, managing director of Executive Outcomes and a former soldier under Colonel Jan Breytenbach, confirmed this week that former soldiers were leaving the country with the knowledge and approval of the ANC.

Discussions were also conducted two weeks ago with senior representatives of the United Nations in Europe, during which circumstances surrounding the recruiting of troops in Angola were elaborately spelt out.

This time the men are not going to guard international oil installations in Soyo, but to train and restructure the MPLA's defense force for the future. They will also get involved in the training of UNITA troops in a future combined Angolan defense force as soon as peace eventually descends on the war-ravished country. "UNITA is in the process of systematically wiping out Angola's civilian population and destroying the remaining wildlife in the country," Barlow told RAPPORT.

His company has even gained international legal opinion before commencing with the extensive recruitment campaign. Senior Internal Revenue officials were also approached to inform them about the situation and to gain tax advice relating to South Africans involved in the campaign.

He outlined his company's motivation to recruit former South African soldiers—albeit former members of the South African Defense Force or MK [Spear of the Nation—ANC military wing]—to RAPPORT. "Our view is that many former defense force soldiers and MK in the country are without jobs. They have to support themselves and their families."

**Agriculture Minister Tells Farmers Funds 'Exhausted'**

*MB0610072793 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 2000 GMT 5 Oct 93*

[Text] Become economically viable or go under—that's the message from Agriculture Minister Kraai van Niekirk to eastern Cape stock farmers. Speaking at a

crisis meeting today, he said the government doesn't have the large amount of money needed to subsidize the massive debt accrued by South African stock farmers.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent Mike Proctor-Sims] Desperate stock farmers from around the country packed the hall at the Grootfontein Agricultural College, hoping to hear Agriculture Minister Kraai van Niekerk and his deputy Tobie Meyer announce an aid package. However, it was not to be—a grim-faced Dr. van Niekerk saying that government funds were exhausted and that hard economic rules had to apply to agriculture. He said that subsidies were destroying the agricultural sector and that a free market system had to operate. Dr. van Niekerk said that farmers were in debt to the tune of 16,000 million rands and that the government had already spent 6,000 million rands over the past three years on bailing them out. He said it was harsh economic reality now that thousands of farmers who could not make it on their own would have to go under.

[Van Niekerk] We can not just give anybody money unless he has the ability to survive financially.

[Proctor-Sims] Angry farmers at the meeting said that stock theft and general lawlessness, along with inflation, high interest rates, rocketing input costs and comparatively low market prices had driven 80 percent of stock farmers into debt. These farmers employ about 1 million people and house 7 million others. Some accused the government of allowing farmers to get into debt so that their lands could be given to black farmers. [end recording]

#### South African Press Review for 6 Oct

MB0610101493

[Editorial Report]

#### BUSINESS DAY

Democratic Party Called "Custodians of Freedom"—The Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 6 October in a page 8 editorial writes that "the Democratic Party [DP] may have an uphill struggle to survive the election as a credible force, but its leaders and membership seem prepared for the climb. They need to be: whatever the protestations of the major parties, the DP will be the custodians of freedom and democracy in the new South Africa. Neither the National Party nor the ANC [African National Congress] can be trusted to protect democracy, or individual freedoms, or the economic freedoms that are the basis of a market economy. Both are by nature autocratic." "They will need a conscience, a watchdog and a guardian of the values they claim to espouse; they need the DP more than they realise."

#### THE STAR

Caution Urged With Affirmative Action—"The ANC has made affirmative action a major plank in its policy platform for next year's election," begins Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 6 October in a page 12 editorial. ANC human resources coordinator Papie

Moloto "warns that firms which fail to adopt affirmative action programmes will have to pay penalty levies." The editorial continues by stating that "there can be no quarrel with affirmative action as such." "But, as always, qualifying riders are necessary. Affirmative action in favour of blacks as the victims of apartheid policies must not be allowed to degenerate into a system of racial quotas." In conclusion the editorial states that under a system of racial quotas "everyone will be losers."

#### BEELD

Right Wing Slaps Hand of Friendship—The Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans on 4 October says in a page 6 editorial that "the foolishness of the far-right's decision to have Afrikaner National Front General Constand Viljoen cease his talks with the government and the African National Congress [ANC] is becoming more apparent." "Through Gen. Viljoen's discussions the far-right at least had an outside chance of getting a place at the negotiations," because "from what President F.W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela have said, there seems to be considerable sympathy for the far-right, as well as a readiness to meet them halfway. For example, at the weekend Mandela said in Washington that the ANC is considering accommodating Afrikaans-speakers in a particular region." "It is this hand of friendship that the far-right have slapped away by withdrawing Gen. Viljoen from the talks, and this has happened at a time when the attention of the world was focused on South Africa."

Right Wing Modus Operandi Causing Concern—Another BEELD editorial on page 6 points out that "the manner in which more and more politically frustrated right-wing Afrikaners are beginning to act is causing concern and heartbreak. Until fairly recently they acted within existing democratic norms and principles. Now many of them are going over to undemocratic methods. Recently it was revealed that well-known right-wingers were being held in connection with an alleged plot to kill a radical ANC leader. Others are due to appear in court for the assassination of Chris Hani, another radical ANC leader." "Still others are suspected of smuggling AK-47 rifles, the weapons of terrorists, into South Africa from Mozambique. Three people have already been arrested in this regard. Such actions must be condemned in the strongest terms, even by rightwing leaders. Those who keep silent support them. And that is dangerous."

Winnie Mandela About-Face on Sanctions Viewed—A third editorial in BEELD says that "those were new and significant noises heard from Winnie Mandela last week: that war talk must make way for a message of peace, that poverty must be fought, and that poor matriculation results in black schools can no longer be tolerated. As for her latest views on sanctions—namely, that these have hurt the poorest the hardest—one can only say, well, look who is talking! Few people worked as hard for sanctions as did Mrs. Mandela." "One will just have to wait and see whether she continues along the path of peaceful and wise counsel. Her image as an unguided political missile is still too strongly imprinted on the memories of most people."

## Angola

### Official on Conditions for UNITA's Reintegration

*MB0510202993 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 5 Oct 93*

[Text] Deputy Interior Minister Fernando Dias da Piedade dos Santos said in Benguela that National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] warmongers should adopt a disciplined posture in order to be harmoniously integrated into Angolan society once peace is achieved.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] If and when peace is established, how do you see UNITA being once again reintegrated in our midst?

[Santos] It will be difficult, but they have no option. They do not like it when we talk of integration. The truth is that they will have to be integrated. The crux of the matter is that when they return in the new phase, I hope that the authorities and the Angolan people as a whole will remain vigilant. From the onset, UNITA people should be taught to dance to our tune. They will have to dance to our tune. They must come here as good boys, be disciplined, and abide by the law. We cannot permit a repetition of past abuses. [end recording]

### UNITA Continues Shelling Menongue

*MB0510202793 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 5 Oct 93*

[Text] Menongue is once again being hit by Jonas Savimbi's guns. The city is being destroyed and its residents are being murdered.

[Begin unidentified correspondent recording] Menongue continues to be shelled by heavy artillery fire from National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] forces. The latter resumed their shelling on 3 October, using a 110-mm gun. UNITA forces continued their shelling at dawn today. Yesterday, they aimed their guns at government positions east of Menongue, but to no avail.

According to Captain Avelino Sambo, spokesman for FAA [Angolan Armed Forces] in Menongue, UNITA continues to deploy its troops in the northern, eastern, and southeastern regions with a view to stepping up their operations.

Meanwhile, a woman was killed and her daughter seriously wounded as a result of the detonation of a land mine on 4 October.

### UNITA Committed to Repatriation of Foreigners From Bie

*MB0510152193 Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo Negro in Portuguese 1200 GMT 5 Oct 93*

[Text] The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] is still committed to its humanitarian initiative of repatriating foreign nationals from

Bie. This initiative was announced in a UNITA foreign minister communique issued on 30 September 1993. Reiterating the party's goodwill on the issue, Ambassador Lukamba Gato proposed in a letter sent to Alioune Blondin Beye, special representative of the UN secretary general in Angola, practical ways of implementing the operation, namely:

1. The formation of a joint [word indistinct] commission, which would coordinate the area where [words indistinct].
2. After stopping over in Huambo briefly, the aircraft from Luanda carrying UN Angola Verification Mission and International Committee of the Red Cross delegations on board would leave for Bie.
3. With the agreement of the two sides, the foreigners to be repatriated would leave the airport for their respective destinations.

### Government Approves Resumption of Aid to Cuito

*MB0510092793 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0600 GMT 5 Oct 93*

[Text] Alioune Blondin Beye, special representative of the UN secretary general in Angola, has been establishing contacts with the government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] to resume humanitarian assistance in Angola, particularly for Cuito. Blondin Beye has already received a green light from the government to provide assistance to Cuito. This was revealed by Blondin Beye's spokeswoman, (Chena Chikaunu). She said while contacts are under way, UN organs connected with humanitarian assistance are already preparing for the operation.

[Begin (Chikaunu) recording] UN organs in Angola have been looking for ways and means to send humanitarian assistance to Cuito, which has been deprived of assistance for the past eight months. The United Nations has already obtained a green light from the Angolan Government to provide assistance to Cuito and it continues to exchange messages with UNITA to also obtain a green light from it.

## Botswana

### BNF Said Against Participating in Coming Elections

*MB0610072693 Gaborone Radio Botswana Network in English 1610 GMT 5 Oct 93*

[Text] The opposition Botswana National Front [BNF] has clarified that its Executive Committee did not vote in favor of participating in the coming general election. But the majority of villagers at the weekend meeting in Jwaneng spoke in favor of participating. The BNF's secretary for publicity and propaganda, Mr. Paul Rantao, said no vote was taken on the matter. He explained that the Executive Committee met for three days in Jwaneng in what he termed a brainstorming session to encourage free

and fair discussions on whether to participate or boycott the 1994 general election. Mr. Rantao said the issue would be discussed further by all organs of the party at all levels in preparation for the Mahalapye BNF National Congress, which will bring the debate to finality.

On discipline it was amicably resolved that no unauthorized person should approach the press without following the party's structure. It was also resolved that members affected by anything within the party should desist from making complaints through the press.

The women's wing elected its new committee headed by (Christina Koma) as president and Mrs. (Julia Matumeni) as the vice president.

### Madagascar

#### Government Appoints New Ministers

EA0510195893 Antananarivo Radio Madagascar Network in Malagasy 1600 GMT 5 Oct 93

[Text] All the members of the government of lawyer Francisque Ravony, the new prime minister, have now been appointed. The latest nominations were made today at 1100.

There are 24 members, including the prime minister who is also head of the government. Fulgence Fanony has been appointed minister of national education; Professor Setra Damasy Andriambao, minister of public health; and (Ralahy Nelson Rabenirainy), minister-delegate attached to the prime minister, keeper of the seals, and in charge of judicial affairs. The expected secretariat of state for maritime resources will remain a simple directorate-general. This is the major news today, which was announced to the media at Mahazoarivo Palace in Antananarivo and was much awaited by the public.

### Malawi

#### Opposition Leader Reacts to President Banda's Illness

MB0610103593 London BBC World Service in English 0600 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Telephone interview with Chakufwa Chihana, chairman of the Alliance for Democracy, by correspondent Lasana Fofana in Washington on 6 October]

[Text] President Hastings Banda of Malawi has many opponents. Among the most notable is Chakufwa Chihana, the trade union leader now an opposition leader, only once locked up. Well, with multiparty democracy on its way in Malawi, Mr. Chihana has ended his long exile and returned home to prepare for future elections. The news of President Banda's illness has met him in the United States, where he is due to attend an international labor conference. In Washington, Lasana Fofana caught Mr. Chihana on the phone just as he was setting off for the conference. He asked Mr. Chihana for his reaction to

the news that President Banda is in hospital in South Africa recovering from a brain operation:

[Begin recording] [Chihana] We are very much saddened by his sudden illness and hospitalization in South Africa, and I can only tell you, my friends, that we in the Alliance for Democracy [Aford] wish him a speedy recovery and good health.

[Fofana] What comments have you to make on the possible implications for the transition program?

[Chihana] As far as implication is concerned, I think this is what I have been preaching all along. If you remember very well, last year I said that the Malawi Congress Party [MCP] was crippled. What I meant was that if Dr. Banda had been sick or was sick that would be probably the end of the Malawi Congress Party, so we are seeing this situation which was focused last year. Now, this impact will be mainly because the Malawi Congress Party will be very fragile and then negotiating with the opposition from a weaker position. Also because the transition itself is going to be very [word indistinct] in the fact that we will now be grappling with issues of who is going to head the transitional period, because this we thought was taken care of by the presidency of Dr. Banda, but I think now it is going to take priority.

[Fofana] Do you foresee a last minute coalition of opposition parties in order to present a strong challenge to the MCP?

[Chihana] I expect that wise counsels would prevail in this situation, specially of starting of any chaos or a chaotic situation in the country. [sentence as heard] I hope that the Alliance for Democracy and United Democratic Front and other small parties or smaller parties would sit down to present a united front to the Malawi Congress Party in order to select a transitional head of state so that we can move forward in holding the presidential and parliamentary elections in May next year.

[Fofana] Now, some observers think the scheduled elections in Malawi next year might generate into the Kenyan experience where you have the oldest and incumbent parties depending on a split in the opposition. Has the opposition in Malawi as yet managed to learn from this lesson?

[Chihana] Well, the same people are saying that Aford is a northern domination and the same people are saying that Malawi has a Kenyan situation because of the strength of the opposition parties. This is a contradiction but what I feel is that Malawi is not like Kenya, we are not and do not have warlords in Malawi and we don't have that strong tribal affinity or ethnicity as it is in other countries. I think Malawians will vote on the issues and the agenda that political parties will sell.



[Fofana] Many critics say the Malawi Congress Party has failed in delivering the goods to the people and that the composition of the opposition clearly reflects old wines in new bottles. What is entirely new in Aford that you think will solve Malawi's growing problems?

[Chihana] I am happy you have raised this question. Of course Aford has new wine in new bottles. We don't have new wine in old bottles in Aford. So I think the electorate will consider this position very seriously and definitely I would appeal to Malawians to see that Aford is elected at the upcoming presidential and parliamentary elections. [end recording]

### **Workers Call For Strike To Force Banda Resignation**

*AB0510161093 Paris AFP in English 1539 GMT 5 Oct 93*

[By Felix Mponda]

[Text] Blantyre, Oct 5 (AFP)—A Malawian workers' body has called for a general strike next Monday [11 October] to force the ailing President Kamuzu Banda to resign, but the government on Tuesday declared the action illegal.

The strike, which is being discreetly organised, was made known to the public last month through an anonymous letter faxed to one of the local independent bi-weekly papers, THE INDEPENDENT, which published it. The proposal, which the government said came from a Workers' Consultative Committee (WCC), led to a barrage of criticism before officials reacted with a statement declaring the strike illegal. "Strikes and civil disobedience for purposes of forcing the government to resign would be an unconstitutional means of changing government," authorities said in a statement.

Banda was Tuesday said to be making "good progress" by medical staff in a South African hospital where he underwent neurosurgery on Sunday, after suffering a reported stroke. Malawi's "life president," who has ruled since independence in 1964, had been due to address a weekend convention of his Malawi Congress Party, which was expected to endorse him as its presidential candidate in the first pluralist poll next year.

The government stated that given transitional arrangements already in place, the protest demanded by the Mzuzu-based WCC was "totally uncalled for." Mzuzu town is based in the northern region, a stronghold of one of the main opposition groups, the Alliance for Democracy (Aford). Last month Malawi was hit with a series of nationwide strikes for higher wages during which at least one man died.

The opposition, under the umbrella body of the Public Affairs Committee, had called for Banda's resignation soon after a June referendum defeated his plans to keep Malawi a single-party state. But the president, officially 87 but thought to be in his nineties, refused to step down,

saying the outcome of the referendum did not mean the multi-party advocates had been elected to power.

Another opposition party, the Malawi Democratic Party, condemned the proposed strike action, calling it childish "especially this time when the transition process is going on smoothly".

Two bodies, the National Consultative Council and the National Executive Council, are now in place and operational to oversee the transition to multi-party democracy.

The bodies are responsible for the formulation and legislation of policies, and will monitor the process leading to the country's first general elections scheduled for May next year.

### **Mozambique**

#### **Dhlakama Clarifies Position on Army Demobilization**

*MB0510193893 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1730 GMT 5 Oct 93*

[Excerpts] Afonso Dhlakama, leader of the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo], said in Maringue yesterday his organization does not favor taking part in the upcoming elections before the two armies have been confined and demobilized. According to Dhlakama's recent statements, when he said he could take part in elections even if his army had not been demobilized, this was an alternative in case the government refused to demobilize its army. Dhlakama said: Ours was not a firm position, but an alternative one. He added: So far, Renamo has been demanding that Frelimo disband irregular groups, the militia, and the Naparama [government-sponsored counterinsurgency unit] which were used against Renamo during the struggle.

[Begin Dhlakama recording] If Frelimo has not started disbanding those groups, it means Renamo and Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] armies will not be confined. Time is running out to hold elections in October 1994. That is why we have said if we do not confine our troops, it should not be seen as an excuse for the Mozambican people not to have elections in 1994. We have the means to keep our troops in bases and prevent them from creating problems. We have said if troops are not confined before elections are due, Renamo would be prepared to take part in elections with the two armies in place, while guaranteeing that our troops would not disrupt the electoral process. [end recording] [passage omitted]

In his interview on the occasion of the first anniversary of the signing of the peace accord, Dhlakama said he would go to Maputo over the next two weeks to meet UN Secretary General Dr. Butrus-Ghali.

**\* Tete: Renamo Delegate on Peace Accord Violations**

93AF0818A Maputo TEMPO in Portuguese  
15 Aug 93 pp 4, 6

[Article by Arnaldo Henrique: "Why Joke About Serious Matters?"]

[Text] The statement by the governor of Tete Province indicating that Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] troops fled in fear when confronted by government troops who were on a mission to "retake" Chiritse in Chiuta district, and Samoa and Necungas in Moatize district, showed poor judgment. The language he used could give the public the idea that weapons are still the only means of persuasion in Mozambican politics.

In three regions of Tete Province there have in fact been violations of the peace agreement signed by the government and Renamo. And nothing would indicate that either party has clean hands, at least not in the context of the general peace accord.

If one believes the version given by Renamo's delegate in Tete, Mahomed Ismael, Chiritse, Samoa, and Necungas are territories of this armed movement and "were conquered prior to the peace accord."

Samoa lies about 70 km northeast of the city of Tete, near the N'Condedzi River. Necungas is east of the provincial capital city, also about 70 km away, near the railroad line that connects the coal-mining town of Moatize to Mutarara district. The Chiritse area is a little more than 120 km northwest of the city of Tete; National Highway 221, which connects Mozambique and Zambia, crosses it.

According to Ismael, Renamo had a warehouse in Chiritse, near Highway 221, where it received food for the villages under its control. Most of its troops were not stationed there, but at bases in the interior, i.e., far from the highway.

Late in the afternoon of the 18th, Tete city was abuzz with rumors of shooting in the region of Samoa, in Moatize. On the following days, it was said there was "growing apprehension" on the part of the NGOs [non-governmental organizations], which saw a threat to their efforts to assist the residents of that region. The Renamo delegate, in an interview with TEMPO on the 19th, referred to an armored military force that the government had sent to Samoa in order to "usurp the zone" by "military means."

"I ordered the boys not to react to the government's provocation. Fortunately, they followed instructions," Mahomed Ismael asserted. He also said that two civilians and two Renamo military personnel had been detained by government forces in Chiritse.

Government military sources offered a different version of the matter. According to an officer associated with the

military engineering department, speaking on the condition that he remain anonymous, Renamo claims control of 85 percent of Mozambique's territory and applies this theory to include zones that are virtually uninhabited or free of influence from either Renamo or the government.

"These are not zones that Renamo won during the war, but places where the men from that movement met no resistance when they moved in after the Rome Peace Accord," explained the military source. He cited as example the case of Capoché, near the river of the same name between the districts of Chifunde and Maravia. "Capoché is a hamlet that had continued to govern itself through a traditional structure, since the influence of government administration was not effective, at least not during the war."

Chiritse and Necungas are government regions, and Renamo never occupied them prior to last October. In the case of Chiritse, according to the interpretation given by both government army sources and the staff of some NGO's and UN agencies, there was a period after the Peace Accord when Renamo was asking the government and the NGO's for food aid.

It happened, however, that Renamo's positions and the villages under its control were situated a long way from the highway and were practically inaccessible by land. So Renamo emissaries were sent to the provincial capital, where they negotiated with government military leaders on the establishment of advanced supply posts along Highway 221.

These talks resulted in a sort of "gentlemen's agreement" that stipulated that these advanced posts had to be used only as reception centers for humanitarian aid, not military bases. Thatched huts were built near the highway in Chiritse for use as warehouses. Food was unloaded there, later to be carried to the interior by people under Renamo control. It was here that the movement was established.

However, at some point Renamo began to store war materiel at that reception center and responded only reluctantly to government demands that it withdraw from that site (since it was no longer respecting the rules initially established).

As for Samoa, Renamo expelled the government administrative structure and replaced it with its own organization at the end of six months. In Necungas, Renamo stationed soldiers there as soon as it learned that the road from Cambulatsise to Mutarara had been repaired.

According to a UNHCR [United Nations High Commission for Refugees] source in Tete, the government notified ONUMOZ [UN Mission in Mozambique] of Renamo's violations of the General Peace Accord. At the same time, according to government army sources, the government insisted that Renamo withdraw from the three zones.



It is true that the military officers whom the government sent to all three zones were escorted by an armed platoon. It is not true that shots were exchanged; the Renamo soldiers simply withdrew from the points they occupied and did not flee "in fear," contrary to what Governor Cadmiel Muthemba told NOTICIAS on 2 August.

TEMPO was unable to confirm from an independent source the truth of Renamo's allegation that government troops had detained two civilians and two Renamo military personnel in Chiritse.

#### **\* New Armed Forces Training in Nyanga Described**

*93AF0818B Maputo TEMPO in Portuguese  
29 Aug 93 pp 10-12*

[Article by Antonio Elias]

[Text] On Monday afternoon, 16 August, we were at the Military Training Center in Nyanga, Zimbabwe, where the first 100 men from the former Armed Forces of Mozambique (FAM) and from Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance], who were sent there on the second and third of this month, are now being trained.

It is extremely difficult to perceive differences among the 100 men. Working under the guidance of British instructors, assisted by Zimbabwean military personnel, everyone is wearing the same uniforms—new—and they are all mixed together. They had surrendered their military insignia.

When we arrived, the 100 students—as they are referred to at the center—were attending classes in tactics and armaments, the center's public relations officer, Captain Charles, told us. They were divided into sections, the smallest having 10 men.

Lieutenant Colonel Robert Martin, commander of the center, explained that the 100 soldiers are part of a group of 540 who will complete a training program to prepare them to work as instructors and commanding officers in the future national army. The first step was taken with 100 men to "see what the reaction is." The students are now divided into four 25-man platoons. When the full contingent gets here—by the end of this month—the platoons will be composed of 30 men, according to Captain Charles.

According to the program, the training of the 540 should be completed by the end of December. Lieutenant Colonel Robert Martin said, however, that whether the timetable can be met depends on whether the remaining 440, half sent by the government and half by Renamo, actually arrive by the end of the month. Only then can the 16-week course begin.

The government and Renamo leaders serving on the commission in charge of training personnel for the new united army, high-level officials Tobias Dai and Mateus Ngonhamo, were at the center and said they do not believe

there are any obstacles that could delay the program. In this regard, Mateus Ngonhamo said that "the progress achieved ensures that the program is irreversible."

In the opinion of center commander Lt. Col. Robert Martin, the physical training provides "a great opportunity to bring the soldiers together."

The 100 soldiers were in their third week of living together. Felizardo Paiola, from Nampula, who was sent by the government army, said he had experienced no problems in getting accustomed to the new environment because "each of us knows what his job is. I feel very good about it. I did not think this could ever happen. We are working, eating, and living together."

Paiola is in the same barracks as Paulo Jose, who is also from Nampula. He was sent by Renamo and termed the new atmosphere "very constructive."

A note giving a "preliminary summary of the work of the Armed Defense Forces of Mozambique (FADM)" was distributed to the press at Nyanga. It says that "at the end, the 540 men will return to Mozambique to train the FADM infantry battalions. Those who successfully complete the course will be instructors in weaponry, communications, first aid, topography, and tactics."

#### **\* Refugee Repatriation in Manica, Sofala Detailed**

*93AF0799C Maputo DOMINGO in  
Portuguese 25 Jul 93 pp 6, 11*

[Article by Benjamin Wilson]

[Excerpts] They are coming in droves to the accommodation camps. Their health is precarious. They get assistance, but natural disasters and poverty are still part of their daily experience. During the war they were the direct victims of this reality. They cannot rouse themselves out of the lethargy that was imposed on them during 16 years of armed conflict. In the last analysis, this is the situation among the repatriated and displaced persons who, despite the peace, find the difficulties still unresolved in their homeland.

After 30 minutes on the road, the Land Cruiser in which we are riding parks in an open field full of people, near three mango trees. "Here is the camp for those who were repatriated from Malawi," the driver tells us.

Next to a small store we saw a line of barefoot people, carrying tattered clothes. The women are doing all they can to keep their children in their laps.

"These people, who are they?" we ask a Red Cross worker who was nearby.

"They are repatriates," she said.

"What is the name of this region?" we asked.

"It is Nhamatanda," responded our source.

"Then this is the Nhamatanda accommodation camp?"

"Yes. There are about 5,000 people here," said the man from the Red Cross who approached us.

Further on we saw several, rather small, thatched huts arranged in a row. At first, it looked like a military camp. Near the huts, women, visibly unconcerned, were using terra cotta utensils to prepare food. One could see that hygienic conditions were not being observed. "We do not have time for that. All we want to do is eat!" one repatriated refugee told us.

We walked through another part of the field. A man approached us. He tries to straighten out his shirt, but cannot. He ultimately loses patience and stops worrying about his pathetic clothes.

He is 25 years old and his name is Cassicam Joao Jenasse. For the past four years, he has been in a refugee camp in Malawi. He bitterly recalls the time he spent there. He said he had belonged to the Army and was abducted from his home in the Malinge region by Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] in 1983, when he was on leave. Malinge is a zone that is controlled by Afonso Dhlakama's movement. As he told DOMINGO, Jenasse had arranged to escape to Malawi one day when, in the company of fellow soldiers, he had gone to launch another "operation" near the border with that neighboring country.

Another repatriate who approached our reporters was Tome Nhangatchoga, 36, the father of seven and a native of Sena, in Sofala Province. Food shortages and the uncertainty prevailing in his home region forced him to flee to Malawi in 1986. "There was no alternative. We suffered from hunger. Whenever we did have anything, Renamo came and took it. I decided to go to Malawi," Nhangatchoga recalled, visibly distressed. Now that the war has ended, the only thing that interests him is a business that will enable him to support his family. "I think that with peace, we can put something together among my family members," he added. [passage omitted]

#### Monte Siluvo

Another displaced persons accommodation center we visited is located in the Monte Siluvo region, in the Nhamatanda district in the central province of Sofala.

The difference between the first and the second center is that one now houses Mozambicans who were repatriated from neighboring Malawi, while the other serves refugees from the Gorongosa region and other parts of Sofala Province. Here in Monte Siluvo there are more than 18,000 displaced persons who come from Gorongosa and 1,096 who come from Pimbre—a Renamo zone—the man from the Red Cross told us.

As DOMINGO learned, despite the assistance provided by German Agrarian Action, many displaced persons

have been growing sorghum, corn, and other grains. "Even so, agricultural production has not been sufficient," our source said.

We approached two thatched huts. Inside, several women were sitting on the ground with their children in their laps. They receive milk, distributed by the Red Cross workers. "They are suffering from malnutrition. Many of them are recovering now," said the Red Cross source.

The Red Cross of Mozambique, through its Beira office, has been providing health and food assistance for the displaced persons. The man from the Red Cross could not tell us exactly how much food is being distributed.

"Don't these children go to school?" we asked.

"They have primary school classes."

"What about the teachers, are they paid?"

"No, they do not get paid because there is no budget. They work in three shifts a day."

#### Red Cross Official in Nhamatanda: 'We Guarantee Assistance'

The weekly newspaper DOMINGO contacted the Red Cross delegate in Nhamatanda, in Sofala Province, hoping to learn about the activities being undertaken concerning the repatriated refugees and displaced persons who have recently been flooding into the accommodation camps in that central part of the country.

According to Pinto Albino, several kinds of assistance are being sent to that part of the country, particularly cooking oil, dry beans, corn, manioc meal, and other foodstuffs. They are being provided by the German Agrarian Action, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and the Red Cross of Norway.

He said that the Red Cross in Nhamatanda is assisting about 60 handicapped people who are suffering from advanced anemia. They are being sent rations every six months. He explained that the district office of the Red Cross is running the program of assistance to repatriates and displaced persons through two projects—the nutritional project, and assistance to the handicapped.

Our source said that the nutritional effort consists of following up on undernourished children, from the time they are at the Nhamatanda Rural Hospital's feeding center until they reach their homes, so that the children can achieve an acceptable state of health. Still, Pinto Albino reiterated that it is only because of various donations that reach Nhamatanda that the provincial office is able to provide food and health assistance.

He also said that several activists trained by the Red Cross have come here to help the repatriates and displaced persons. Their expertise is subdivided into different areas, such as health and education.

Asked about the health conditions found among the repatriated people, the Red Cross source said that they arrive in a critical state of health, characterized by venereal disease, wounds that became infected by contagion, and a rather alarming state of undernourishment. Pinto Albino has urged the relatives of those individuals who appear relatively healthy to come and pick them up from the accommodation camps.

In conclusion, our source estimated at 4,000 the number of repatriated refugees who have been assisted by the Red Cross at the Nhamatanda accommodation camp.

[Box, p 6]

#### Incentives to Agriculture Urged, Cut Foreign Assistance

Several people who are housed at the Muda and Nharuchoga camps in the Nhamatanda district of Sofala reacted favorably to the idea of returning to their home regions and beginning a new life at their own expense and risk. According to District Administrator Paulino Saimone, this finding was the result of a poll taken of the population.

About 5,000 repatriated refugees are benefiting from the distribution of farmland and seeds. He admitted, however, that the district government is having problems distributing the land because of the ever-increasing number of needy people.

Saimone said that the people in the camps in Nhamatanda are receiving help with medicines, food, and clothing from Mozambican and foreign humanitarian institutions.

Still talking about the scarcity of land, Paulino Saimone argued that it is necessary to ensure that the repatriated personnel are settled on farmland so that they can become self-sufficient and foreign assistance can gradually be eliminated.

"We have had trouble supporting the people because there are so many. Our first concern is to guarantee land for farming and get the children into schools," Saimone added.

As the Nhamatanda district administrator told us, he is awaiting the arrival of an unspecified number of people who are soon to be repatriated from Malawi and Zimbabwe.

Information furnished to DOMINGO indicated that at present, workers are also trying to determine the home region of each person or family in the camps, in order to arrange their return.

One repatriate told us that several people who are in the Muda and Nharuchoga camps are living only on whatever they can scratch out of their garden plots. Asked about this, Saimone denied that this is happening and told us that despite the difficulties involved in assisting the people who are being accommodated there, they have not found anyone who is not getting aid.

Another difficulty that the repatriated and displaced persons face is the shortage of water. Sources connected with the Red Cross of Mozambique said this problem has been minimized and prioritized, inasmuch as everything has been done to keep people from dying of thirst.

As far as we were able to learn, the land that comprises the Nhamatanda district and neighboring regions is dry. The water table in the central part of the country has dropped significantly.

#### \* Successful Repatriation of Refugees in Angonia

93AF0809C Maputo TEMPO in Portuguese  
22 Aug 93 pp 25-30

[Article by Antonio Elias]

[Text] Ten months after the signing of the Rome peace agreements, most residents of Angonia District, in Tete Province, who had taken refuge in neighboring Malawi have returned to the country. As of the end of June, 167,000 people had been recorded as returned, representing 75 percent of the 220,000 Angonia residents who were refugees in Malawi.

And given the fertility of Angolan land, "the population will rapidly stabilize," believes Administrator Evaristo Wenzulo.

It was Saturday, 3 July. We were traveling from Ulongwe, the capital of Angonia District, to the Calomue post, on the border with Malawi, a distance of some 20 km. We encountered many groups of people coming from the border.

There were also people at the Calomue post itself, who had just crossed the border moments earlier. The women and children were sitting on the ground and the men on a small wall. All of them had just entered Mozambique that morning and were awaiting possible transportation into town, or directly to the areas they had left years ago.

One of them, Alfredo Rinze, was going to Ulongwe: "I already came here last month to leave my family, and now I am returning for good." He had fled to Malawi in 1987, but did not live in a refugee camp. In Malawi he had worked at a mill.

Meanwhile, Inacio Antonio, also among those who had just crossed the border, came to do some advance work: "Only after that will I return." He is also working in Malawi.

Roberto Mignone, a UNHCR [UN High Commission for Refugees] official in Angonia who accompanied us, explained, "there are only a few of these people now, because it is Saturday. Yesterday 478 arrived, and one day 968 people returned from Malawi."

According to Roberto Mignone, the refugee population in Malawi began to return on a large scale in May. That month some 19,000 people returned, and in June 36,000 people returned.



This return, although it means starting life over again from scratch, represents the end of a big nightmare, although there are some exceptions, like Teresa Jotamo, who in the act of fleeing in 1986 ended up being separated from her husband, who at the time was held prisoner. Now that she has returned, her husband wants nothing to do with her or the children, who belong to them both.

Angonia administrator Evaristo Wezulo says that the population did not wait for a repatriation program. "There must be few people left in Malawi" from the Angonia area. UNHCR figures indicate that the number of Angonia residents who fled to Malawi during the war was 220,000. As of the end of June, it was calculated that 167,000 had returned.

Even taking into account the manner in which the refugees' return is being processed, Roberto Mignone maintains that there will be a second phase of "organized repatriation, because there will always be Mozambican people in Malawi."

Attending to this returning population is becoming problematic when it involves supplying them with food. "It is mathematically impossible," says Roberto Mignone, because some are going to "practically unknown" areas. Moreover, and this has to do with the region's geographical characteristics, in Angonia there is an impressive number of nongovernmental organizations [NGOs], and many of them involved in the same type of work; hence "food distribution is not clear," says Roberto Mignone.

However, it is World Vision that is most involved in food assistance and in the area of attending to the primary needs of those returning from Malawi to Angonia. During our visit, World Vision stored and was in the process of distributing 16,000 sacks of corn, 150,000 sacks of beans, and 11,000 liters of cooking oil. Administrator Evaristo Wezulo recounts, however, that in addition to supplying food to the population, the first priority is to reopen the roads, and rebuild the sanitary facilities, schools and wells. Reopening the roads is the responsibility of the World Lutheran Federation. As of the end of June, 125 km of road had been rebuilt, according to Francisco Franque, Jr., who heads a brigade of 33 men involved in that work. At the time, they were repairing the road connecting Angonia to Macanga.

The World Lutheran Federation is also involved in rehabilitating the schools and health facilities, as is ISCOS [expansion not given], which is Italian, the MSF [Doctors Without Frontiers], the Refugee Support Nucleus, and two more religious organizations, one from Malawi and another from South Africa. We learned that by next October the Lutheran Federation and ISCOS will provide 20 schools, with some 45 classrooms in total, already completely restored, in the Angonia District.

A certain level of optimism prevails over prospects for stabilizing the lives of the district's population. However, the administrator was categorical: "the population

will stabilize rapidly. What is needed is tools: shovels, axes, machetes, etc." World Vision is distributing seed.

In effect, some of the families who returned last year from Malawi had a reasonable harvest, and even a surplus, particularly of corn. From that fact came World Vision's decision this year to purchase 4,700 tons of that grain in the district, according to officials of that organization in Angonia.

And World Vision's plans are being received gratefully among the small producers and merchants in Angonia, because AGRICOM [Agricultural Products Marketing Company]—which previously was the only purchaser of corn—"delays in paying," according to Pedro Doce Aforma, who has 40 hectares [ha] of land. Last season he worked on only 20 and harvested 27 tons of corn and 12 of sweet potato.

At the base of this optimistic horizon is Angonia's fertile soil. Part of the NGOs' operations in Angonia are directed toward agriculture. Beginning this year, ISCOS will work on 700 ha of land and another three in addition. Danida, the IRC [International Red Cross]—American and the CWERC [expansion not given]—Malawian—are shortly going to initiate agricultural activities in Angonia.

The rapid evolution is occurring in the economic and social sectors, although not in the political sphere. A significant part of Angonia District is considered "Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] territory."

Administrator Evaristo Wezulo explains that there is a commission in the district, combining members of the Government and Renamo, which discusses and resolves problems connected with food distribution. "We supply to zones controlled by Renamo and we circulate freely in those areas," explains Evaristo Wezulo. He relates that he has already held meetings with Renamo administrators on their own territory, "where I traveled specifically to monitor the work of reopening the roads."

Renamo authorities, many of whom are from Angonia, we were told, have frequently been to the town of Ulongwe, visiting relatives and friends.

This interchange, which is witnessed from time to time, is not, however, well viewed by the government soldiers and SISE [State Information and SEcurity Service] officials in Angonia. They are suspicious of this movement, believing that Renamo is working to mobilize the populations.

Administrator Evaristo Wezulo believes, however, that these movements do not constitute a problem and have their own justification, since "the war that separated us has ended," and any individual is free to go wherever he pleases.

**\* Repatriation of Refugees in RSA Observed**

93AF0799B Maputo DOMINGO in  
Portuguese 1 Aug 93 pp 6, 11

[Article by Pedro Lambo]

[Excerpts] It is expected that official repatriation of the Mozambican war refugees who are in the Republic of South Africa [RSA] will begin this month. Officials at the Ressano Garcia administrative post in the Moamba district of Maputo Province are trying to create at least the bare minimum conditions for receiving them so that "our compatriots will not suffer hardships in their own country," as one local source put it.

In this context, the Red Cross of Mozambique is training health workers to be able to treat whatever diseases might break out while the refugees are at the transit center that has been set up in the town of Ressano Garcia.

The Ressano Garcia training center was established in 1987-88 because provincial officials were making frequent visits to that border zone. [passage omitted]

Filipe Carlosimba, local coordinator of the Emergency Commission, told us that the center was renovated this year and that more huts were built so that it can now accommodate more of the people who are coming to Ressano Garcia.

Although there are no precise figures, it is believed that 100 to 150 people will be coming into Mozambique every day through this border crossing point. However, not all will be housed at the center, since many of them, once arriving in the area, will look for ways to proceed to their destinations.

Simba emphasized, also, that there are two groups of repatriated individuals: those who had illegally crossed the border, and the war refugees who are voluntarily returning home yet have absolutely no means of support. Both the people who had sneaked over the border and been expelled from that country and the refugees returning of their own free will are immediately welcomed at the transit center right after they present themselves to the Mozambican authorities.

The length of their stay depends on the ability of the Department for the Prevention and Control of Natural Disasters (DPCCN) to provide vehicles to evacuate people to Massaca, a district in Boane, from there they will go wherever they prefer.

Until such time, the returnees are receiving all necessary support, since the logistic assistance is the responsibility of the DPCCN, which has obtained financing from the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

Simba explained that during the war, the center also received aid from a South African organization that serves on the domestic repatriated persons committee of that neighboring country. "Now the DPCCN has been regularly supplying the center with food, so that the

repatriated citizens feel they are being well treated while they wait for opportunities to return to their hometowns," he observed.

When we visited Ressano Garcia in the first week of July of this year, there were only 50 returnees there, since many had been evacuated to Boane a few days earlier.

It should be noted that the transit center we are talking about has 15 eight-person tents, and a larger tent that can accommodate 30 people. Chronic water shortages do not exist there. Tanks were set up to ensure normal supplies of that precious liquid. As Simba said, "We have to offer at least minimum living conditions so the repatriates do not experience hardships. It is a difficult job but we will try to do everything in our power to overcome the problems."

It is in this connection that improved latrines featuring piped water to remove the waste have also been built. In terms of problems, we should mention the shortage of household utensils and equipment for serving the most pressing needs. [passage omitted].

**Other Aspects**

One reaches Ressano Garcia either by a 25,000 metical *chapa* or by train, depending on one's financial status. It is a very busy town, especially because of the miners who are going to or returning from the RSA. But there are also other kinds of people who come to Ressano for different purposes. "It has always been this way, even during the war," insisted Pedro Luis Uetimane, chief of the administrative post.

Ressano Garcia faces some major problems associated with illegal border crossing, traffic in rands, and attempts to evade the customs authorities. Lately, according to Uetimane, there has been an invasion of "ninjas" who are committing theft and sowing panic and uncertainty in the minds of honest citizens. "Another concern is the influx of a lot of illegal transportation services. True, we do not have enough vehicles, but it is essential that illegal providers legalize their situation. This is something that needs to be done right away, and we are pressuring to see that it happens."

In the social realm, according to Uetimane, enormous difficulties persist, even though the merchants are trying hard to bring in products to supply the population.

The Health Department has also tried to combat the diseases that break out, such as cholera, which has struck many people since last year. We have a Spanish team from Doctors Without Borders, who are renovating the hospital. We would not exactly call it renovating it because we saw that more pavilions are being added, which will help expand this facility.

There is also the water problem. Because of an assistance package from the EEC, we were able to bring water to the distribution reservoirs. It is just that the mains are

extremely obsolete. So this phase of infrastructure restoration is lacking, but we will have a favorable response on it soon.

Then there is the juvenile delinquency. "Local unemployed youth join up with the ninjas' brought from Maputo (city) by the transportation services, and they spread instability. This worries the police and the community itself."

Another detail is that the local authorities are apprehensive about the situation among the miners. Many of them do not realize it is not wise to carry much cash; instead, their earnings can be carried in the form of the so-called special checks. However, they prefer to take the entire sum with them. As a result, besides spending a lot of money in restaurants, they are often mugged.

"I said earlier that the miners are the main targets of the ninjas. It is hard to explain things to some miners. They say they do not need any explanations, since they have been sweating all by themselves at the bottom of a mine. They are the only ones responsible for their money, and it is no one else's business. We cannot force them to do something they do not want to do."

Except for the proliferation of criminals, there has been no other kind of violence in Ressano Garcia since the signing of the general peace accord. The chief of the administrative post admits, however, that one should never expect complete tranquility, since border areas are historically turbulent.

Ressano Garcia has a population of about 30,000. Due to the war, the seven hamlets within the jurisdiction of that post—Movenene, Chanculo, Incomati, Pangene, Thomo, Tanque, and the Mububo circle—are virtual ghost towns.

The people have not yet returned to their homes because of the presence of mines. The direct consequence of this is low agricultural production in almost all the localities in that administrative jurisdiction.

#### \* Manica: Problems in Refugee Repatriation

93AF0818C Maputo TEMPO in Portuguese  
15 Aug 93 pp 17-24

[Article by Antonio Elias: "Manica: Problems in Sight"]

[Text] The northern and western parts of Manica Province could very soon be in critical shape unless quicker action is taken to resettle the thousands of families in Malawi and Zimbabwe who are now returning in large numbers to their home districts.

In the last week of June, we went to Tambara, 390 km north of the city of Chimoio, in Manica Province. It is extremely difficult to get to that district, particularly after Guro, where one turns off onto a dirt road that had not been used for eight years. It is 100 km from Tambara to the Guru turnoff. It took us about four hours to travel that distance because of the poor condition of the road.

It is very bumpy, with holes of all sizes and bridges that have been destroyed. In many instances, vehicles had to drive along the riverbed.

We passed through four villages on the way. In all of them we saw a lot of young goats and chickens. We stopped at the fifth village, Nhacafula. District government officials have taken refuge in Nhacafula.

It was already dark when we reached Tambara-sede [the district seat]. Even so, people flocked to where we parked our cars. Among them was Lieutenant Julio Valente Sitei, commander of the government forces stationed there. He helped us get food by sending us chickens. He charged 2,000 meticals for each large chicken. The river (the Zambezi) was less than 50 meters from the tent where we slept.

#### 'There Was No One Here'

The place (Tambara-sede) is a ruin that was once a small town. The 15 houses that comprised the village have been destroyed. In some cases, whole walls were demolished. On each end of the row of wrecked houses the new village, of thatched huts, has been built. On one side are families who returned in 1991-92. On the other are the newest arrivals.

Lt. Julio Valente Sitei explained to us that Tambara-sede had been retaken on 14 February 1990, after Renamo had occupied it since 14 February 1982. There were no confrontations during the retaking of Tambara, according to the commander. "They knew that a full brigade was on the way, so they fled. We entered at will."

At that point, "there was no one here. The people were on the islands." (There are innumerable islands just offshore at that point in the river.)

There are no stores or any kind of black market there. Miscano Viga, who returned to Tambara in December 1991, explained that sometimes people show up from Chimoio bringing sugar, soap, salt, and clothes. They sell the sugar for 2,500 meticals per kg, and swap the clothes for young goats "an old pair of pants for one goat," Viga said. But sometimes a month will go by without any vehicles coming into Tambara. A lot of the residents are nearly naked, and many complain about the lack of farm tools.

The people began returning to Tambara in 1991. Amadeu Bechane and his family, consisting of three wives and 11 children—he had three children with Saquina Nhapensa, three more with Dinaresse Campo and five with Luisa Escova—arrived in Tambara from Malawi on 23 June. He said that he would "get a farm going very quickly" on the islands and during the rainy season "would work outside here." Tambara makes it possible to do that...it is a gift from the Zambezi River.

#### 'They Carry Weapons To Get Food'

Francisco Micajo, 37, another resident who returned on 23 June, bringing three wives and eight children, was getting



ready to plant a garden on the islands. At the center where he had been staying in Malawi the order was given for people to wait for UNHCR [United Nations High Commission on Refugees] transportation. But "because we never heard anything more about transportation, we returned on foot. We left a lot of our possessions in Malawi. It would have been hard to carry them."

Three of Micajo's children went to school in Malawi. Two were in the first grade and the oldest, 17, in the second. They will be able to go back to school next year because the school in Tambara has reopened. This year it has 278 pupils in the first and second grades, taught by three teachers.

Many of the returnees are not really from Tambara itself. They lived in small hamlets far from the town. They are settling in Tambara-sede now because they are afraid of finding instability where they used to live. Jairosse Piro, for example, is from Nhamacosse. He said he will not go back there "until everyone surrenders their weapons." He thinks "they carry weapons in order to be able to get food."

About 3,000 people were in Tambara-sede at the end of June. As for their health, the village health worker said there were many cases of diarrhea and malaria "because of the water and the mosquitos."

We had gone to Tambara with seven Danes who were going to distribute 1,500 kg of used clothes. The leader of the group, Janne Hjort, said the clothes "were only for those who had returned from Malawi." Trouble is, when it comes to clothing, everyone in Tambara has problems.

Only a few people received the clothes, and there were plenty left over. Those who had gotten nothing complained, but the Danes did not pay attention to any of them, or to the local authorities. They left Tambara. People went to the local authorities to complain. The leader explained that "there were mistakes on the part of the Danes."

Back in Nhacafula, where they ultimately distributed the rest of the clothing, the Danes explained that they had left Tambara because of the melee that had developed. "The people were about to overpower us."

Nhacafula is a village where there used to be only two masonry houses, and not both have been virtually destroyed. All the rest are thatched huts—the administration building, too.

#### Meet Them Outside To Avoid Contagion

The administrator, Tiago Fernando Paulo—who asked that we refer to him as "the government's man in the district"—explained that Tambara had a population of 24,000 in 1980. Now it has 18,090. Of these, "9,200 are in the Renamo zones in Buzua and Sabeta," according to the administrator, who added that because the district is so isolated and because of the lack of transportation "I have spent more time in Chimoio than here in the district."

Since last October the government has distributed 275 tons of food to the Renamo population in the district, according to Tiago Paulo. "They have been coming here to receive food, but we meet them outside the village in order to keep from catching all the diseases they have."

A significant part of the population of Tambara is still outside the district. In nearby Guro, "there are 5,300 people from here in Tambara," said Tiago Paulo.

The situation in Guro district could become more complicated soon, now that the refugees from Zimbabwe are being processed. Every day, groups of Mozambicans cross the Zimbabwe-Mozambique border to return to their homeland, especially to the districts of Barue and Guro in Manica Province.

Most of the refugees go to the seat of Guro district, since a reception center opened there in March, following the arrival of masses of people from Malawi. So Guro is becoming the arrival center for the returnees from both Malawi and Zimbabwe, where most of the people took refuge from the war.

#### 'Everyone Wants To Come Back'

The returnees from Malawi arrive in Guro in UNHCR trucks, having been brought from Caphirizange in Tete Province, which they reached on their own after leaving Malawi. Those from Zimbabwe traveled to Guro on foot.

In the case of the returnees from Malawi, most of them are from Buzua, in Tambara. They stay in Guro for a long time. Those who returned to Guro from Zimbabwe are almost all from that district. Because of a shortage of tents at the reception center, the returnees from Zimbabwe are not allowed to stay more than five days in the tents. Either they go immediately to their native villages or other places of their choice, or they are sent on to Sanga, which is five km from the district seat. It once was a village, but disappeared during the war.

Luciana Cabuemba was one of the first people we talked to in Sanga. She had been there three weeks, having returned from Zimbabwe with her husband and four children. They traveled four days on foot, stopping only at night. She said that at the center where she had been in Zimbabwe, "Everyone wants to return, it is just that it is very hard because of the distance, the baggage, and the children."

Bechene Thole, with three wives and 12 children, had arrived in Sanga from Zimbabwe 10 days earlier. "We could not wait any longer because there were no prospects of an immediate evacuation from that center. We had to come back in order to plant our crops, because it is time for that now." Joao Moda, head of a family that had just returned from Zimbabwe, also said he did not

wait for the organized repatriation because he "had to come back in time to prepare the fields."

**'UNHCR Just a Means'**

However, these families are going to find themselves in a very critical situation. Once they have been evacuated from the tents and before they can build any kind of thatched hut, they will set up housekeeping out in the open at Sanga. The two families we talked to had arranged all their possessions under the trees: "That is just the way we live these days," said Bechane Thole in exasperation.

Meanwhile, Claudia Hungerbuehler, a UNHCR staffer in Chimoio, explained that "these families got into this situation because they wanted to return on their own, and so they have to try to solve their own problems." She explained that UNHCR "is just a means." The decision

on the refugees has to be made by the Mozambican and Zimbabwean Governments." In her opinion, other institutions "such as the CVM [Mozambican Red Cross] and Social Action need to get involved in these problems. The UNHCR makes the transportation available."

Official sources in Manica point to the presence of 140,000 Mozambican refugees in Zimbabwe. Only an insignificant percentage have returned by official means so far. In fact, the official repatriation is scheduled to take place over a three-year period, whereas the refugees are fed up and want to come back to this country to get on with their lives.

It happened with the refugees in Malawi, most of whom ended up returning without waiting for official help. Once again, in the case of the refugees from Zimbabwe, the official institutions are letting themselves be overtaken by events.

## Cote d'Ivoire

### Leader of Ruling PDCI Interviewed on Party Performance

AB0410192593 Abidjan LA VOIE in French 2-3 Oct 93  
pp 2, 3

[Interview with M. Laurent Dona Fologo, secretary general of the Democratic Party of Cote d'Ivoire, PDCI, by unidentified LA VOIE correspondents in Abidjan on 26 September; quotation marks as published]

[Excerpts] [LA VOIE] What would you like us to talk about?

[Dona Fologo, laughing] I feel like asking you the same question! A politician must be able to answer all kinds of questions. You know, the saying goes that there are no foolish questions, only foolish answers. Therefore it is up to me to show that I am not very foolish [laughter]. I am waiting for your questions.

[LA VOIE] If that is the case, we would like to talk with you about the PDCI and life in Cote d'Ivoire through a few questions. Here is the first one: The PDCI made electoral promises to Ivorians in 1990. It is managing the country's affairs alone. Yet nothing seems to be going very well. There is an increasing number of unemployed, there was the education crisis with the recent student hunger strike, considerable delays in the payment of workers' salaries, the recent strike by the National Public Health workers, and the increasingly deteriorating material condition of many Ivorians. Should we deduce then that you have failed after three years of rule, especially since there has not been any economic recovery? Does it mean that the ADO [Alassane Dramane Ouattara] plan has failed?

[Dona Fologo] I think by the time of the next elections each of us will give an account. It will be up to the people of Cote d'Ivoire to judge whether it is positive or negative. Meanwhile, I must say that three years after the last general elections, I cannot say that all that we had wanted or wished to do has been achieved. I think there is no single government in the world that can be entirely satisfied with its performance. All that you have said is true, although some aspects seem exaggerated. First, there is a generally bad economic situation in the world. If there are delays in salary payments in Cote d'Ivoire, you know as I do that these delays are much longer in other countries.

[LA VOIE] Are you happy with this situation?

[Dona Fologo] I do not mean that I am happy with this situation. I would have preferred no delays, of course. If there are unemployed—that is also true—then we must look for the fundamental causes. People speak today about the educational system that produces a lot of dropouts, that is to say, it produces young, educated people without any professions. However, it is caused by the world economic crisis that has not improved since

the last elections. I have just read in a newspaper that a big firm like Renault is about to lay off 6,000 workers. The ceiling of 3 million jobless has been reached in France, a country that helps us to solve our problems. This means that if that country which helps us to solve our problems is unable to solve its own problems, it is because it is not very easy to do so. The unemployment problem preoccupies Bill Clinton as well as the smallest African president. The crisis is therefore real and general. The PDCI made promises in 1990, but all the political parties canvassing for votes made the same promises, sometimes serious ones and other times less serious ones. You cannot canvass for votes without promising something! I do not agree when you say that nothing has been done.

[LA VOIE] What has been done?

[Dona Fologo] First, at the economic level, compared to the way things were managed in the past, a lot of things have changed in the Ivorian public administration. I have been a minister for 15 years and I can tell you that our working conditions were not the same as those of our young colleagues who have succeeded us today. There are ministries now in which, before the 15th of every month, a single liter of fuel cannot be found. There are ministries where directors are no longer entitled to government cars. I cannot tell you an exact figure of the savings made by the prime minister's government, but something has been done in the way of budgeting the economy.

I can also say that efforts have been made in the maintenance of secondary roads. Of course, we still have a lot to do. In a crisis period, we do not speak about asphaltting but maintenance of secondary roads. When the economic situation improves, the roads will be asphalted. We must be courageous to say this to our fellow countrymen. I can say that regarding public health, despite a situation we are not yet satisfied with, an effort was made in the hospitals and rural dispensaries. [passage omitted]

[LA VOIE] What are your concerns?

[Dona Fologo] I am concerned about the future of the Ivorian society. Therefore, I have to say what I think of it. I think the time has come for me to do so. Ivorians can be expected to contribute a lot as long as the conditions I talked about at the Adzope meeting are met.

[LA VOIE] Could you remind us of what you said?

[Dona Fologo] First, everyone must come to the important consultations [on education] with an open mind. We should rid ourselves of everything and be truly concerned about the future of our children and our country. Politicians should not hide behind the banner of unions which are totally respectable and creditable organs. Mutual confidence and the absence of systematic suspension are the conditions for dialogue. We should not have a situation where the good ones are on one side and the bad ones are on the other. I do not think that is a

good idea. We should put an end to what may look like contempt for one another because even the youngest of us could have something to offer.

[LA VOIE] Could you tell us what the second condition is?

[Dona Fologo] The second condition is that everyone should be prepared to accept and share the sacrifices. We need universities, and possibly institutions of higher education, and above all, we need professional training centers, where students can learn a trade. My position is that the state has to educate and train people, but it is not obliged to provide jobs for them. Once a carpenter has received his training, for instance, he should not ask the government what he should do with his qualifications. Recommendations backed by figures should be made and suggestions should be made as to where to obtain the funds to finance the projects. Everyone should then be prepared to make the necessary sacrifices. I find it deplorable, and I have said so before, and I hope you will publish this, that Ivoirians who are on a quest for power, something which is quite normal, sometimes appear to be gloating over the fact that the education system is facing problems.

[LA VOIE] Is that what you think?

[Dona Fologo] "I hear things like all throughout the year, we have not even had three weeks of school" and they are happy about that, but they are still paid all year long. I do not think they are unhappy or concerned about it. Patriotism should go beyond political affiliations. Some of them who have foreign contacts urge our foreign friends not to accept young Ivoirians, because they have not completed the full school year, but that is serious, it is terrible. We have had to go through all that as part of the quest for power. They later realized that they had embarked on the wrong course, and there had to be dialogue. We should be proud to say one day, "we went through all that together, we have had a good year, and our children have received their education." That is my objective and sincere hope.

[LA VOIE] The new school term has been set to start on 4 October, but farmers are also facing financial difficulties. The new agricultural season has not been launched yet, and they do not know what the new prices will be. Besides, the mid-crop agricultural season which enabled them to make some money has been scrapped. They do not, therefore, have the means to send their children to school. Meanwhile, the new term date has been set for 4 October. What do you think of all this?

[Dona Fologo] The prime minister is in Paris right now. I hope he returns very soon to inform farmers of the new prices for the commodities. We are all officials and we are regularly involved in campaigns. People are getting more and more impoverished. We are the first people to deplore the low prices of commodities and hope that they will improve. Recently an opposition leader who was visiting his region said: "We notice that our party is doing better, because people are getting poorer and

poorer." I will not name any names, but he was speaking in Indenie. In other words, his party stands to gain when people get poor. What he is saying is that if a member of the PDCI becomes poor, he should defect to the other side. Now you see why we do not wish to become poor! If PDCI activists do not become poor, they will remain in the party. This is what he is saying. I read it in LA VOIE. This goes to show that it will not be in our interest for farmers to become poor. You know that PDCI has its origin in the farming community. We, therefore, find this situation regrettable.

[LA VOIE] The observation is not sufficient.

[Dona Fologo] But what should be done? There is a small ray of hope. We hope that the government will take that into account and we wish our farmers well. Should we fix the resumption date of schools for 4 October or not? I cannot tell you whether or not the date is well chosen. But if by next week Monday [5 October] or Tuesday we are able to fix the price of cocoa or coffee, probably those who still have something to sell will certainly be able to get some money. Should the reopening of schools be in any case postponed, I think that government officials would be able to take that into account. But for my part, the price that will be given to the farmers is more important than the date. I agree with you when you say that the farmers do not have the means to register their children at schools, and this is a very serious and difficult situation. At any rate, we in the PDCI are aware of this, because, for example, we asked the government to put a stop to the contributions of 2,000 CFA per child in the primary schools. The decision was made during a meeting of the political bureau and the government is applying this. We hope the government will succeed in achieving this objective because we are aware of the fact that our relations have nothing. Were it not for African solidarity, our children would not have gone to school.

[LA VOIE] You said a short while ago that you were proud of the Ivorian school system, because it produced competent cadres. But this method is condemned for what it has done to our educational system, especially the fact that government has encouraged a massive influx of school-age children—to 100 percent—but has not produced training centers to match.

[Dona Fologo] Yes, I cannot say that I am proud because the Ivorian school system is a total success. No, this is not exactly what I said. I said that the Ivorian school system is not a failure. This means that it has its ups and downs. I said this because a paper close to you recently said that the Ivorian school system has not moved an inch since the colonial period. These are what I call excesses. [passage omitted]

[LA VOIE] Let us come back to the question of the introduction of the identity card whose high cost has led to the impoverishment of farmers.

[Dona Fologo] Concerning the inimitable identity card, my stand on the issue is a mixed one. I am in favor of all healthy changes in our society. I believe that you too, as



democrats, favor this idea. We are for everything that will enable our community to realize its potential rigorously, with openness, and provide it with the instrument of a society with a future. In principle, if the inimitable identity card is one of these elements, then I do not condemn it. Personally, as a citizen, I cannot say anything concerning this card, because I have not yet understood all its merits. What I would like to say is that if it is an instrument of rationalization and control for the society, of the people living in our country with us, and for the maintenance of order etc.; if it is one of these instruments, then I accept it. I also have a mixed stand on the issue because of its cost which should be reviewed. Today, there is the need to look twice at all projects that demand additional efforts from the farmers and make sure it is not indispensable before it is applied.

[LA VOIE] This last point relates to current affairs—the Liberian crisis. Today, villages situated along the Liberian-Ivorian border suffer attacks by rebels. In Cote d'Ivoire, the state-owned media speak a lot about the number of people that die in Somalia, Sarajevo, and South Africa but does not speak of the few dead along our border. Nothing is said about the realities touching us directly. As the secretary general of the PDCI, how do you appreciate this real terror facing the people of Toulepleu especially?

[Dona Fologo] First, like you, I deplore the war in Liberia. We in the PDCI deplore all wars, especially those along our borders. The president, has never hidden his horror for war. It is a reality. He is therefore sad that we should have a civil war at our doorstep. Secondly, unless it is otherwise proved, I assert that Ivorians are not dying in this war.

[LA VOIE] They are not Ivorian soldiers but Ivorian villagers and civilians undergoing excesses, and this has been proved. Minister Bombe's recent tour to the region is proof of this.

[Dona Fologo] Yes, I affirm that our brothers on the border were not killed, I repeat killed, in the Liberian war. It is certain that if there is war at your door, you can no longer live as before because the fire is too near. You must, therefore, protect yourself and take precautions and I think that explains the frequent visits to the border by our authorities. But at the same time, it is delicate. We do not want to come into contact with the neighboring soldiers because we do not want war. We must protect our people by taking the necessary precautions.

What I would like to say—since you have given me the opportunity—is that I think fellow citizens of a country must agree on basic issues such as problems of territorial integrity and peace along the borders. Sometimes I do not understand some Ivorian opposition press reactions which seem to almost rejoice that we have a problem at the border. Whatever the countries, there are basic issues on which everyone agrees: territorial integrity. You have fire at your door. You must adopt a common stand regarding this fire. The way you would like this problem

to be solved may perhaps not be the same, but what is certain is that all Ivorians must agree on the protection of Cote d'Ivoire. That is why the more a solution to the problem is in sight the more we feel at ease. That is obvious. Today, I do not think you can accuse us of being more concerned with the war in Somalia and Angola than the war in Liberia.

[LA VOIE] We are raising the question of the state media's coverage of stories because the death toll for what happened in Toulepleu and Danane, for instance, is not usually disclosed.

[Dona Fologo] If you notice that the state media do not place much importance or emphasis on what is happening at our borders, it is because it is a sensitive issue and we are directly concerned by the precautions taken. You know, when one is in power there are certain issues which must be handled with a lot of caution. If the party you belong to finds itself in the same position someday, you will understand that problems regarding peace and war are handled very cautiously. I think that is the only reason for the state media's caution. As a leader of the ruling party, I can tell you that no state media organ has received instructions to minimize or ignore what is happening at the borders. It is such a sensitive issue that we are cautious, that is all.

[LA VOIE] We do not know if you have news from Man or Danane. People there usually see people close to Mr. Charles Taylor and sometimes Mr. Taylor himself in the area. In Abidjan now, people know the hotels where Mr. Taylor and his people stay. You know that very often the opposition newspapers accuse the the government and the Democratic Party of the Cote d'Ivoire of supporting Mr. Taylor. Cote d'Ivoire is a member of the Economic Community of West African States. The government however refused to allow the Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group the use of the Man Airport. At the same time, however, Mr. Charles Taylor's people are seen to be moving freely about in the country, and this can be counterchecked any time in Danane or Man.

[Dona Fologo] I am sure that Cote d'Ivoire's stand has been several times reaffirmed without any beating about the bush. I am sure you have been able to find some development in the problem. I am not saying that we are closing our borders to Charles Taylor or to the others, but what is certain is that our neutrality in this conflict has been asserted more and more. The minister of foreign affairs has, on several occasions, asserted this to you. We have always advocated a policy of brotherliness with other peoples and because of that factor, we must remain loyal to our fundamental principles and probably not react like others. And this being so, I do not think that today anybody can assert that Cote d'Ivoire is supporting one faction against the other. This is not the PDCI's position.

[LA VOIE] The PDCI is at helm of affairs and under the government formed by its members, some PDCI mayors

have been accused of embezzlement. These include the mayors of Tieningboue, Bouake, Koumassi, Adzope, Anyama, and Plateau. It is not only the opposition journalists alone who denounced these acts, but those close to the government also did so. As of today, there seems not to have been any punishment meted out to them. Does this mean that the government is encouraging stealing? Where then is the change of mentality which is being advocated and which everybody is wishing for?

[Dona Fologo] First of all, I would like to tell you that if there is something to be denounced, it is quite normal that it is denounced by the entire press. Secondly, we are in a state that respects the rule of law, even though sometimes people say that justice here is on two levels. We are advancing slowly and I think that everything must be settled by the law. If Ivorians commit a mistake, complaints must be lodged against them and they will go to court so that the case may be settled by law. This is my concept. I have already said that there are prisoners of all political leanings at the Abidjan Central Prison. If an Ivorian commits a mistake and he goes to the court, he is not asked which party he belongs to. He is judged according to the case before the court and he goes to jail if he is found guilty. That is why I answered by saying that if the law finds PDCI activists, no matter at which level they are guilty of an offense, they will go to the same place as other citizens who have gone against Cote d'Ivoire's laws. I do not have special documents concerning the cases of mismanagement you have mentioned. But if it is proved that the PDCI secretary general has mismanaged something, he should go to jail. He is a citizen like all others.

### Views Party's Structure

AB0510213293 Abidjan LA VOIE in French 4 Oct 93 p 2

["Second installment" of an interview with Laurent Dona Fologo, secretary general of the Democratic Party of Cote d'Ivoire, PDCI, by unidentified LA VOIE correspondents in Abidjan on 26 September; quotation marks as published]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [LA VOIE] Dona Fologo, at one point during the last major forum of the PDCI, there was talk of having to reaffirm your authority as secretary general of the PDCI. What is the status of your authority now within your party?

[Dona Fologo, laughing] First, I would like to tell you that I have never complained about a lack of authority within the PDCI. As far as I am concerned, never. I did not become the PDCI's secretary general in order to have more authority, and I do not have any special ambitions. [passage omitted] We do decry certain acts of indiscipline and lack of coordination, but this form of authority that we ask for is not so much for me, the secretary general, as for the party's leadership. I am not the boss of the PDCI; it is rather the chairman of the party who is

boss. I do not think that the problem is that of authority or lack of authority, but rather that of coordination—greater coordination of the party's activities—and discipline. There is no party in the world without a minimum of discipline.

[LA VOIE] We take you at your word because you have often talked of party discipline, and that is important. While the PDCI has not yet responded to proposals made to it concerning the 1995 elections, Interior Minister Emile Constant Bombet has been making pronouncements on them and saying that he considers them to be utopian proposals....

[Dona Fologo, laughing] You know—and I have already said this—when I read your newspapers, I wonder whom you call the PDCI. You say: "The PDCI has done this, the PDCI has done that." Let me tell you, and this time I wish to show my authority, I am the only official spokesman of the PDCI, since I am the secretary general. Therefore, when I make a statement in this capacity, it is the Political Committee that is making the statement through me, and in that case I really consider it to be the PDCI's stand. *When a member of the party, even if he is in the government, gives his opinion about a situation, it is still not exactly the party's position.* I did not say that we will think exactly as you or the parties close to you do. But I do say that the PDCI will make its conception of the organization of the elections, the electoral code, and others known at the appropriate time. [passage omitted]

[LA VOIE] There is talk of a clan war within the PDCI. What do you know and think about it?

[Dona Fologo] I must say that it is in the newspapers that I read that there is a clan war within our party. First, in all the big parties of the world, there are always some clans. The French Socialist Party that you like....

[LA VOIE] That is to be proved. [passage omitted]

[Dona Fologo] You know this: There has been talk of the Fabius clan, of that of Mauroy. Come on, you know about all these things. We will not dwell on it. It is therefore possible that in the old PDCI, there are also currents. As far as I am concerned as secretary general, the issue of this war has never been brought to my attention nor have I been informed outside the newspapers which I read like everybody else. My duty as organizer of the PDCI is to always ensure that I do not add fuel to the fire. I am responsible for the party's organization, cohesion, development, and functioning; I do not wish to see splits appear within it. Therefore, if we really detected serious dangers or threats, I would do everything within my power to remedy it. However, as far as small clans are concerned, I believe they can exist.

[LA VOIE] So, you do not know anything about the clan war between Prime Minister Alassane Ouattara—second in command in the PDCI according to the party's hierarchy—and National Assembly Speaker Henri Konan Bedie?



[Dona Fologo] First, we have never ranked personalities within the PDCI. It is possible that you might have seen a list, but we have not specifically ranked people. A clan war between the prime minister and the National Assembly speaker? I say that this has never been brought to my attention nor have I been specially informed about it outside the newspapers. Those who have an interest in exaggerating these minor divisions do so on both sides. I do not know what they gain from it, but certainly as the secretary general, I do not approve of such behavior. This is because I believe that, between two important dignitaries or two big institutions of the country that are governed by the PDCI, there is no need for that. That is my opinion. Let me add that even in countries with old democracies there are sometimes misunderstandings between the Parliament, which legislates, and the government, which governs. This is no secret. Even recently, we witnessed this again among our French friends. Actually, since you are not an advocate of unanimity, you should be happy if from time to time, even within the PDCI, there is no unanimity. [passage omitted]

[LA VOIE] What precisely are your relations with the other political party leaders? What meetings have you been able to have with them and what issues did you discuss?

[Dona Fologo] Let us say formally that we do not have regular contacts with opposition leaders. Some of these leaders meet us from time to time. When they want to exchange views with us on certain issues, this can happen. However, we do not often meet the top leaders of the most well-known parties. This can be explained: It is due to the fact we got on the renewal and democracy train under conflictual conditions. You may recall "the final assault," "the day will dawn" slogans. These were some slogans that made us more vigilant and cautious, which certainly poisoned our relations. It is true that we had just started and things were rather difficult for everybody. It appears to me now that it would be possible to organize serious meetings in order to talk to each other face to face. I think developments in the situation make this possible today. This is how I see things. This is why when one day a journalist asked me in this very office "If Mr. Gbagbo were to invite you for a meal would you accept?" I told him, but why not! I told him that if he is asking me that question, it means that he thinks that I could be poisoned, because I do not see why he should ask me such a question! We are all Ivoirians. If I am invited, if I am in Abidjan, I do not see why I would refuse to eat with Mr. Gbagbo. To prove this, when foreign embassies invite us together, we go. Why would we not invite each other? My answer to you, in this respect, is that it does not bother me at all to meet with an opposition leader. Not at all.

[LA VOIE] We would like to ask you your opinion about democratic development in Cote d'Ivoire, after the controversial incidents of 18 February 1992.

[Dona Fologo] You know, as for me, I do not talk about these 18 February incidents. I believe that what I saw

really upset me. I did not think that one day, in Cote d'Ivoire, we would reach that stage. The shocking part was that the pictures from other countries which we see on television, we saw them here in our country. It was sad enough. As for the rest, let us not go back to all that.

However, I believe today that those who sometimes criticize opposition leaders for being less violent and less intransigent are wrong. They are wrong because the definition of the opposition is not being violent all the time, when it is not necessary to do so. We are confronted with a very difficult economic crisis. We must put our heads together to find the solution that will put Cote d'Ivoire back on the rails. If there are jobs, and they are not for PDCI alone, they are for all Ivoirians who are capable of taking them. It is, therefore, in the interest of all Ivoirians for prosperity to return. I do not agree with this leader who said that "the activists of his party get on well with poverty." Growth and prosperity must return. As long as opposition leaders are aware of this vital necessity and do not systematically block the government's actions; I am one of those who believe that they have not softened their stance. The struggle is one of ideas. They must reflect on social security, the Ivorian schools, the Ivorian economy, agriculture, development, and so on. If they take to the streets all the time, they will not find the time to reflect on these issues. As far as I am concerned, I appreciate this peaceful development of maturity in the democratic process in our country.

[LA VOIE] The expression "electoral technology" [electoral know-how] has been attributed to you. So, what should be done in 1995 to avoid electoral technology?

[Dona Fologo] I have observed that many African countries are not capable of organizing clean elections on their own, that is to say holding rigorous elections with up-to-date electoral registers; establishing polling stations everywhere; ensuring the security of voters; and so on. This is what I meant by "electoral technology," and I stand by it. Whatever efforts we make, there will always be a fly in the ointment for quite some time. We must not deceive ourselves. If even today elections are re-run in France after 20 years [as published] of practice, then it is a long-term accomplishment that we must confront. I have said that I personally deplore the fact that Africans are obliged to call in foreign soldiers and experts who are known as international observers. In the recent past we used economic experts and we know what came out of that. Today you are calling in democracy experts, tomorrow, when all is not well, we will not see them again. I have said that as an African citizen I deplore the fact that we are obliged to proceed in this manner. It is not only foreigners who can tell us if our elections are valid or not! I think that Africans must think about this.

[LA VOIE] We would like to ask you your views about proposals such as compliance with Article 5 of the Constitution; the right for 18-year-old Ivoirians to vote; the single ballot; the transparent ballot box, as was the case in Togo recently; and the electoral commission.

These are all the things that will actually make it possible to lay down the foundations for the democratic and open elections that you wish for.

[Dona Fologo] I believe I have already answered this question. I said that the PDCI, as an organized and a ruling party, will give its position on all these important issues that ensure clean and acceptable elections for all. It will reveal its position at the right time. It is important and I cannot talk about it lightly. But what I can affirm is that I want clean elections at all levels that are organized by Ivorians themselves. Even if we should have assistance from this or that institution, it should only be secondary. However, Ivorians themselves have shown that they are capable of mastering "electoral technology" and there is no mistake about that. That is a fact, but you must also understand that the PDCI, like other parties in Cote d'Ivoire, does not want elections that are not clean—even if it is a contest between PDCI members—how much more if it is against an opponent. So, as far as this issue is concerned, we absolutely agree on the objective. As to how we will attain it, this will be discussed later.

[LA VOIE] Would we see Mr. Fologo contesting the presidential election in 1995?

[Dona Fologo, laughing] You know...well... Well, no, it is no. I have told you, I am PDCI's organizer, it is not a very easy task and I really do not have the time to think of other things. What I wish, is victory for PDCI. [passage omitted]

## Guinea

### Cabinet Discusses 28-29 Sep Events, To Step Up Security

*AB0610094593 Conakry Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique de Guinee in French 0645 GMT 6 Oct 93*

[Text] The Cabinet met yesterday and drew the lessons of the unfortunate 28-29 September events that seriously shook the capital, resulting in deaths, serious injuries, and extensive material damages. The Cabinet decided to reinforce security measures and insisted on the effective participation of district and municipal councils and the population as a whole in maintaining order. The measures adopted are aimed at preventing the occurrence of fresh excesses liable to jeopardize the ongoing democratic process in our country.

### Security Forces Deploy in Matoto District, Seize Arms

*AB0610130693 Conakry Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique de Guinee in French 0645 GMT 6 Oct 93*

[Excerpt] In Matoto District, Conakry, the Municipal Council decided on 1 October to reestablish public order following the acts of vandalism in the municipal area on 26 and 27 September. A joint service comprising contingents of the Air Force and the 1st Mobile Brigade of the

National Gendarmerie continue mop up operations there. Automatic weapons and hunting guns have been seized. Mamadou Sanogo reports:

[Sanogo] The presence of this joint contingent in the Matoto municipal area is really useful at a moment; people have been living in fear because bandits disguised as guerrillas have been laying down their law everywhere by erecting roadblocks and creating terror through random shootings. The vehicle of a CIS expert, Mr. Sylvester, bearing military plate No. 0031, was pillaged and taken away by the bandits.

The deployment of the Air Force and 1st Mobile Brigade troops on 1 October silenced the bandits at least for a while. They swooped through Keneya, Onenes, Ndaya Station, Odetta, and Matoto roundabout. Automatic weapons and locally manufactured guns, arrows, spears, knives, and clubs were seized. Aliens' dens under construction in the Nimbaya Kambe residential area, where people including Nigerian men and women without residence permits were hiding, were also discovered.

On 4 October, the Matoto municipal police seized a rifle, an automatic pistol, and ammunition at the residence of Seydou Kante at Dabanta, [words indistinct] drug traffickers passed through local officials. [passage omitted]

### Government To Regulate Foreigners' Stay in Country

*AB0510170593 Conakry Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique de Guinee in French 0645 GMT 5 Oct 93*

[Text] The decision to regulate foreigners' stay in the country was announced recently by President Lansana Conte to clarify matters on that situation in the country. This decision is important in view of the behavior of some foreigners who reside in Guinea. Abdoulaye Djibril Diallo reports on the situation:

[Begin Diallo recording] Just as the presence of nationals are regulated in all countries where the rule of law prevails, the authorities should also be more concerned about regulating the presence of foreigners in the country. Legal provisions governing the Economic Community of West African States [ECOWAS], of which Guinea is a member, are specific in terms of international relations. It is mandatory for all foreign nationals who stay for more than 90 days in a foreign country to request permission for extension of their stay from the authorities of the host country. The same charter stipulates that illegal immigrants are liable to be expelled and the illegal immigrants will bear the brunt of the expulsion costs. It also gives member countries the right to restrict the free movement of foreigners for internal security reasons. In such a case, the country in question has to inform the ECOWAS executive secretariat and other member countries of the situation within a reasonable time limit. If Guinea has decided to regulate the presence of foreigners in the country it is because of the need to maintain order. This is in line with the principles

of law and interstate relations which are strictly implemented by the large democratic nations. It is, therefore, up to the security services concerned and local authorities to see to it that this government decision is strictly implemented because it is aimed at ensuring the safety of both Guinean nationals and foreigners. This government decision is not in any way intended to be a sign either of ill-will against foreigners or a manhunt. Guinea is, above all, a country which welcomes foreigners and is currently witnessing an increasing influx of refugees into our country. [end recording]

## Liberia

### Army Chief Accuses NPFL of Importing Weapons

AB0510162893 Paris AFP in English 1324 GMT 5 Oct 93

[Text] Monrovia, 5 Oct (AFP)—The National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), the country's main armed faction, is still importing weapons in breach of July's peace pact, Armed Forces chief General Hezekiah Bowen has charged. Bowen told a general staff meeting of the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) that "the NPFL has been importing arms and ammunition through the Ivory Coast [Cote d'Ivoire] since the Cotonou ceasefire accord was signed last July," press reports said Tuesday. He accused Charles Taylor's movement, which controls much of the West African country, of "using the ongoing delay in the disarming process of warring factions to import arms and ammunition."

The Armed Forces should "ever be prepared for battle from any faction," Bowen warned Monday [4 October]. He added that he also had intelligence reports that several AFL soldiers have defected to a new armed group known as the National Peace Council (NPC). The NPC was "believed to be headed by some former officials of the late President Samuel Doe's government."

Doe, Liberia's former military strongman, was tortured to death by rebels from a breakaway wing of the NPFL in September 1990, nine months after Taylor began his bloody insurrection.

First reports of the NPC's existence emerged at the beginning of September when fighting broke out in Grand Gedeh County close to the border with Cote d'Ivoire. The movement's secretary-general, Octavious Walker, then came forward to say that the NPC would fight on until it had driven the NPFL out of the whole of southeastern Liberia. The clashes in Grand Gedeh were also attributed to dissidents from the NPFL's main rival outside the interim government in Monrovia, the United Liberation Movement (ULIMO).

The NPFL has refused to begin disarming until UN monitors are deployed and the ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] peacekeeping force sent to Liberia by other West African countries has been joined by troops

from elsewhere in the continent. Taylor has said he does not trust the current ECOMOG force, led and dominated by Nigeria.

## Niger

### MNSD-Nassara Party Official Condemns Rights Violations

AB0510130393 Niamey Voix du Sahel Network in French 1900 GMT 4 Oct 93

[Text] The National Movement of the Development Society-Nassara [MNSD-Nassara] Political Bureau and sectional and subsectional party leaders began an extraordinary meeting this afternoon. Participants will spend two days discussing some items on the agenda. In his opening address, the MNSD-Nassara leader, Tandja Mamadou, condemned what he termed the violations of certain constitutional provisions by the Third Republican authorities. Here is what he said:

[Begin Mamadou recording] For nearly six months now, the attitude of those in power has been characterized by repeated and systematic violations of our rights and regulations. We are faced with these violations, which are carried out in a particularly underhanded manner, in our various localities. The administrative authorities completely ignore our national interest and violate the rights of our activists, in other words, the majority of the people of Niger, on a daily basis. Faced with these premeditated, repeated, and well-organized attacks, we owe it ourselves to react in a firm and unequivocal manner. [end recording]

## Nigeria

### Radio Views Abiola's Kaduna Statement

AB0510154093 Kaduna Radio Nigeria in English 0900 GMT 5 Oct 93

[From the "In Focus" program by Ayiba Ahmed Aseem]

[Text] From the distant shores of European and American cities, it would seem that the [word indistinct] beats of the drums of mayhem are now here with us in Nigeria. While there in his 54-day sojourn, Chief Moshood Abiola did not make any pretense that he was all ready to set his motherland on the path of Armageddon as the price for the realization of his lofty dream of the leadership of his people. He told the world that unless he is president, Nigeria will be worse than Somalia and Bosnia-Herzegovina put together. Then, intelligent observers may have thought that the statements of Abiola were the sentiments and outburst of one that was suffering from a fresh injury and would soon as such sober up with the healing effects of time. This line of thinking may have gained credence further when a few days to his homecoming, Chief Abiola was reported to have said that he was coming home to contribute to the efforts of peace, reconciliation, and nation-building.



Alas, his Kaduna declaration was anything but an effort in reconciliation and restoration of the peace that was threatened following the confusion unleashed by him and his followers in the wake of the annulment of the last presidential elections. How else shall we interpret the choice of Kaduna and his declaration that I am the president, and that nothing would stop him from assuming that position. The reasons are obvious: The man is out to further his antagonism and provocation of a significant portion of the country. He had begun by accusing those he described as the Islamic fundamentalists of the north as those who had opposed his victory at the polls. He then picked on the person of General Ibrahim Babangida for refusing to acknowledge his victory on the ground that he, Abiola, did not come from the same region as him, the then president. In doing so, the Baba Adini [traditional title] of Yorubaland, had decided to brush aside the fact that he is supposed to profess the same religion as those fundamentalists in the north and also the fact that he had been given the most overwhelming support in the region he has turned to accuse of refusing him.

Once outside the country, he unleashed his army of media and swarms of lackeys to continue in the same vein. They poured aspersions, ridiculed, and lampooned dignitaries in this part of the country in the most unpaintable language and styles in their media. From venerated custodians of traditional institutions to respected political leaders, nobody was spared their venoms. Thus, before long, Abiola and whatever he may have stood for became the concern of an ethnic group—the Yoruba-speaking people. Naturally, the other groups could not but become suspicious. There were new appraisals as the reality dawned on them that all along they were taken for a ride. Or else, how could they have explained their sudden exclusion from what they were supposed to have begun together with their fellow countrymen? Were they not supposed to have stood to collectively reap the sweet fruits of success and equally feel the pains of failure as the case may be?

Furthermore, Nigerians from across the country, long suffering in poverty and weary of another round of civil war, did not take kindly to the man who had invited poverty for them by calling for international sanctions and prayed for them the ruins of war by wishing them the experiences of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Somalia put together. That is the objective truth on the political grounds of Nigeria today. That is to say the greatest majority of Nigerians are today posed away from the position as they were on 12 June 1993. There is no doubt that Chief Moshood Abiola is very well aware of the fact and to that extent, therefore, the [words indistinct] can be said to be out to further the embers whose flames could very well make Nigeria a child's play when compared to the gory situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the (?sorry) picture of Somalia.

The choice of Kaduna considered as the heartbeat of the geopolitical expressions of a people is as telling as it is

revealing. The meanings of his statement are self-explanatory, enough even for a toddler to understand. Let it be sounded, once again, that Nigeria is being pushed dangerously to the leeway of Armageddon. Unless something was done at once, our country has reached the precipice of abyss. Like a boulder that is unsteady on a hill, a little push further could mean an irreversible journey to the valley of hell here on earth.

It may not be too late in the day to save the situation. We had hoped that given his acclaimed patriotism, Abiola was coming home as a true patriot. So far, the unfortunate fact is that the reverse is the case. Who else is listening? The fathers of the nation must be up and doing. The constituted authority must restore confidence in the people, on the security of lives and property. All must be done with the sole and sacred exception that there is no deviation from the course of the interim national government. History will not forgive us if this generation of Nigerians try to do otherwise. That is, of course, if we have the rare fortune thereafter to make history as a people. The bottom line is that on the interim national government we must stand.

#### **Legislators Advised To Attend Meetings With Shonekan**

*AB0510161593 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 0600 GMT 5 Oct 93*

[Text] A member of the Lagos State Elders' Forum, Chief Jimo Kolawole Odumosun, has advised legislators not to embark on any action that would portray them as [an] obstacle to the successful conclusion of the transition program. Chief Odumosun was reacting to recent developments in which the Lagos State House of Assembly adopted a motion directing the governor, Sir Michael Otedola, to stop participating in meetings governed by the head of the interim national government.

Also, the Oshun State House of Assembly ordered local government chairmen in the state not to attend the meeting between the head of the interim national government and the local government chairmen throughout the federation. Chief Odumosun pointed out that the actions of the Lagos and states' Houses of Assembly were not conducive to the success of the ongoing search for peace, progress, and stability of one Nigeria.

#### **Interim Government Approves Funds for Parties, NEC**

*AB0510190593 Kaduna Radio Nigeria in English 1700 GMT 5 Oct 93*

[Text] The interim national government [ING] has approved the grant of 100 million naira each for the two political parties for the forthcoming presidential and local government elections. Similarly, 150 million naira has been given to the National Electoral Commission [NEC] for preparations for the elections. The secretary for communication, Chief Dapo Sarumi, announced this in Abuja today at the end of a meeting between the two



parties, NEC, and executives of the ING. Chief Sarumi said in line with the posture of the ING, the two parties and NEC must account for the money given to them.

It would be recalled that the two parties had, in their memoranda to NEC, proposed 1.5 billion naira, which was later trimmed by the commission.

#### **Official Appeals for Debt Help From World Bank, IMF**

*AB0510154893 Lagos Voice of Nigeria in English 1030  
GMT 5 Oct 93*

[Text] Nigeria has called for the support and cooperation of the World Bank and the IMF in handling the country's debt obligations. The secretary for finance, Alhaji Aminu Saleh, made the call in Washington, the United States, after the three-day meeting of the bank and the fund. He said that there was the need for creditors to give Nigeria some relief, while the interim national government would work out a new macroeconomic package for the country. Alhaji Aminu announced that officials of the World Bank and the IMF would visit Nigeria in October and November to assess the economic situation in the country and resume dialogue on the country's medium-term program. The finance secretary said the IMF was willing to provide technical assistance to the country in its implementation of the value-added tax, VAT.

#### **Togo**

##### **Investigation Into Bomb Attack on French Center Begins**

*AB0510164393 Lome Radio Lome in French 1230  
GMT 5 Oct 93*

[Excerpts] A bomb attack was carried out on the French Cultural Center in Lome last night. The building is located in the center of the capital. The explosion was heard just after 2000. Three people were wounded in the blast and substantial material damage was recorded. [passage omitted] The Gendarmerie went to the scene immediately and began an investigation. Some evidence was collected that will be used to discover the origin and nature of the bomb. For the moment, there are no real clues except for a few eyewitness reports. Witnesses said that inhabitants of the area saw two people on a Yamaha motorbike throwing a lighted explosive against the wall of the cultural center. The two then fled the scene.

##### **French Condemn Attack**

*AB0510171393 Paris AFP in French 1302 GMT 5 Oct 93*

[Text] Paris, 5 Oct (AFP)—Paris "strongly condemns" the explosion that occurred in the French Cultural Center [CCF] building in Lome yesterday and "is asking the Togolese Government to look for and try those responsible," Foreign Ministry spokesman Richard Duque said today. France "sympathizes with the injured," he added.

The Togolese Gendarmerie said today that a low-power bomb exploded yesterday evening at the CCF in central Lome, injuring three passers-by. The Lome CCF had been closed since February, when France suspended its cooperation with Togo. Up to this morning, no one had claimed responsibility for the explosion. According to investigators, the explosive used has the same characteristics as the one found on two opponents in July.

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